

contents

- editors' foreword* vi
mary mcauliffe, katherine o'donnell and leeann lane
- preface* vii
nancy j. curtin
1. irish political history: guidelines and reflections 1
patrick maume
2. ireland 1600–1780: new approaches 49
michelle o'riordan
3. the irish famine: history and representation 84
margaret kelleher
4. economic and labour history 100
niamh puirséil
5. conceiving irish diasporas: irish migration and migrant
communities in the modern period 127
william murphy
6. local history 147
maura cronin
7. institutionalisation in irish history and society 169
catherine cox
8. irish histories: gender, women and sexualities 191
mary mcauliffe
9. ireland: identities and cultural traditions 222
leeann lane
10. visualising irish history 247
vera kreilkamp
- appendix: chronology of irish history 1590–2006* 269
contributors 279
index 282

1

irish political history: guidelines and reflections

patrick maume

introduction

The political history of modern Ireland has been dominated by the challenge of how to achieve a stable political order whose legitimacy would be generally accepted. For most of the last three centuries it was believed that the struggle for control of the state, and the actions of those who actually controlled it, were the central determinants of the Irish experience. Historians and politicians debated whether the story of the Kingdom of Ireland revolved around the extension of the authority of Crown jurisdiction over the whole island, or whether it was the assertion of legislative independence culminating, for what became the dominant Irish political tradition, in the Republic? For conservatives, Irish problems stemmed from barbaric anarchic resistance to law as such, thereby promoting violence and ignorance and paralysing commerce; if this resistance were ever to prevail, anarchy and tyranny would ensue. Liberals and nationalists, who were overlapping but not identical in their thinking, asked *whose* law was being resisted and whether the 'barbarians' opposed civilisation as such or rather the arbitrary rule of a self-aggrandising elite.¹ For Whigs or nationalists Ireland's religious development was explicable in terms of the effects of state decisions. The Establishment of the Anglican Protestant Church and the accompanying Penal Laws, which impinged on the economic, political and educational freedoms of Catholics from the late seventeenth into the nineteenth century, and official favouritism persisting when formal disabilities had been removed. Economic problems were similarly attributable to past trade restrictions, and their solution (for many) lay in protectionism and histories of the land question were written in terms of land legislation. In the recent past, popular perceptions of

Irish history have been dominated by a 'nationalist-Whig' narrative, which sees Ireland as a single entity pursuing an inexorable struggle to shake off colonial domination, with differences over whether this necessarily required full separation from Britain. The Unionist counter-narrative derived from the conservative view, combining elements of the defence of Protestant ascendancy, a view of Britishness as more conducive to liberal-universalism than Irish nationalism, and Ulster particularism defined in Protestant–Unionist terms. These histories were disseminated through official and unofficial educational systems, the latter operating through a mass print culture and the associational networks which disseminated it, which can be seen as voicing the aspirations of popular audiences, or trying to reshape that audience in respectable terms.

In recent literature it is also possible to distinguish a modernist narrative, which sees the central theme of Irish history as the struggle for economic and social modernisation, a view with roots in both nationalist and liberal unionist historiography, and disintegrationist tendencies which aim to unsettle one or more dominant narratives by recuperating groups or individuals excluded from dominant self-images: feminists, immigrant groups, agricultural and urban labourers, etc. These cannot be separated from the influence of nationalism and unionism; hence, for example, the appearance of rival pro-union and anti-union traditions of socialist history.² Any form of popular history is expressed through a genealogy of political movements with whom the protagonist selectively identifies, finding their experience relevant, and aiming to carry them on to victory. The discipline of Irish history has, since the mid- twentieth century, been marked by a debate on what has become known as 'revisionism'.³ Irish historical revisionism began by challenging the 'Irish-Ireland' tradition of history, which claimed the Irish people are a unified Celtic nation viciously oppressed throughout their history by English/British imperialism.⁴ In understanding the heated nature of discussions of 'revisionist' history, it should be understood that many people in Ireland retain a strong sense of their received version of history as a personal possession, and react angrily to what they experience as attempted dispossession. This derives from such factors as the use of history in ongoing political debates (not least over Northern Ireland), a sense of local identity which remains strong, albeit declining with increased urbanisation and mobility and, especially when dealing with relatively recent events, oral tradition and personal knowledge. An example of these factors is Meda Ryan's defence of the West Cork Irish Republican Army (IRA) leader Tom Barry against Peter Hart's claim that he killed prisoners after the Kilmichael ambush in the War of

Independence.⁵ Ryan also argued that certain killings committed by the West Cork IRA in the same period were not sectarian murders of civilians, as argued by Hart and accepted by many nationalist leaders at the time, but reprisals against spies and informers.⁶ Although Ryan's book contains useful material it assumes Barry and the War of Independence IRA should not be treated as historical figures whose actions can be discussed and criticised; the only legitimate response to their actions during the War of Independence is unqualified identification and uncritical regurgitation of their self-representations into an Ireland changed beyond recognition since they acted or wrote.⁷

Critics of revisionist history, such as Brendan Bradshaw,⁸ complain that it reflects an unrealistic attempt at producing a 'value-free' history, which attempts to be purely factual and morally neutral. In doing so, revisionists evade the violence and suffering which punctuate the Irish experience and the role of human agency in these traumas. This is often extended into accusations of a positivism that assumes everything that happened was inevitable, thereby colluding with power-holders past and present. It is arguable, however, that the historical approach associated with the pioneers of Irish revisionism, T. W. Moody, R. D. Edwards and the journal they founded, *Irish Historical Studies*, is not in fact 'value-free'. On the contrary it could be argued that it reflects an ethical commitment to civic peace through mutual understanding and recognition of the Other based on a common ground of scholarly technique, as opposed to the view that the Other is fundamentally illegitimate and must disappear through assimilation or expulsion. Anyone who has read the urbane sneers of J. P. Mahaffy,⁹ before the foundation of Trinity College, as he insinuated that Ireland was inhabited only by naked savages, or the paranoid rants of Fr. Timothy Corcoran¹⁰ (in the *Catholic Bulletin* and similar publications) maintaining that every Protestant and Unionist must have been in conscious bad faith and that it can never be admitted that a Catholic historian might have been wrong or a Protestant right about anything, will recognise the attractions of such a revisionist commitment in 1938.¹¹

Defences of revisionism should bear in mind that it is misleading to present the historical process as a conflict between unthinking 'tradition' and critical history.¹² There are polemicists who maintain that 'traditional' views must be maintained, even if false, because of the, allegedly, beneficial overall effect of the national narrative¹³ or who see Irish history in terms of a conflict where to admit any correctness on one side denies all legitimacy to the other,¹⁴ but these positions do not exhaust the issue. 'Traditional' views of particular historical events

often arose for concrete reasons, even if they were and are occasionally distorted by being preserved in memory after the circumstances against which they were defined have vanished and been forgotten. For example, mid-Victorian landlordism may not have been as ruthlessly exploitative and tyrannical as generally believed, but anyone who reads the pro-landlord *Dublin Evening Mail* of the 1880s with its sneers at 'a mud-hut franchise' will understand much about why landlordism attracted such hatred. The ironic mode of narration favoured by many revisionist historians is not necessarily morally superior to the tragic or reverential tone of much 'traditional' history; the problem arises when reverence or irony appears not as the outcome of critical thought, but is used to preclude it.

This chapter primarily deals with the modern period of Irish history. It should be borne in mind, however, that until the end of the Union between Britain and Ireland which came into effect on 1 January 1801,¹⁵ Irish political debates often referred back to the mediaeval period, a reflection of the fact that until post-1960s' expansion of higher education and the decline of the institutional churches and of classical education a much higher proportion of the Irish historical profession were mediaevalists than nowadays. James Lydon's *The Making of Ireland* (1998) is an original survey by a mediaevalist which emphasises how issues about the constitutional relationship between Britain and Ireland in the modern period had clear mediaeval precedents, an interesting 'primordialist' corrective to views of Irish history drawing on Ernest Gellner¹⁶ and other modernisation theorists, which depict present-day national identities as by-products of modernity.¹⁷ Other survey works, which are essential to the study of early modern and modern Irish history, include Alvin Jackson's *Ireland 1798–1998: Politics and War* (1999). Jackson places his work in the contested territories of Irish history, within a framework that is chronological and integrates, unusually, a comparative view of Ulster-Scots, Protestants, Unionist traditions and the Nationalist, Irish, Catholic traditions. Paul Bew's *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity 1783–2006* (2007) is another useful account structured around successive attempts to find a political framework for the reconciliation of the rival communities, with particular emphasis on the use and misuse of the legacy of Edmund Burke. Its treatment of the violence and disasters of Irish history in the period and of the persistent attempts to resolve them lays particular stress on the vast amount of underexamined material on the political histories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the continuing capacity of original research to complicate received narratives.

eighteenth-century ireland and the patriot tradition

While the history of eighteenth-century Ireland is still dominated by the political upheavals of its previous decades, a major scholarly gain of the later twentieth century has been the ability to see beyond the retrospective knowledge of the ultimate fate of its governing elite, beyond later attitudes to corruption and religious intolerance, to come to an understanding of how the system worked and appeared to those who ran it.¹⁸ Even the terminology used to describe the eighteenth-century élite is affected by hindsight. The terms 'Anglo-Irish' and 'Protestant Ascendancy' are often used to refer to the Anglican aristocracy alone, whereas 'Protestant Ascendancy' (which W. J. McCormack has shown to have been coined by conservatives in the 1780s) actually referred to the legal supremacy of the whole Anglican community over the Catholics. The position of non-Anglican Protestants was left ambiguous as circumstances dictated; in eighteenth-century usage 'Protestant' often referred to Anglicans alone, hence Wolfe Tone's ambition to unite 'Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter'. Edmund Burke criticised this form of supremacism as unsustainable precisely on the grounds that while Catholic plebeians might be persuaded to defer to a Protestant-dominated aristocracy as their natural superiors, they would hardly extend such deference to their Protestant equals or inferiors. 'Anglo-Irish', an older term could refer to any person of settler descent, and, from the late nineteenth century, was also sometimes used to refer to any Irish speaker of English. The Protestant elite was often referred to (or referred to itself) as 'the Irish nation' – that is, the political nation, those who participated in government and enjoyed civic rights. The Anglican Archbishop John George Beresford, who died in 1862, recalled shortly before his death that when he was a boy the expression 'the Irish nation' had usually been taken to mean the Protestants, whereas now it was usually assumed to mean the Roman Catholics. Many nineteenth-century nationalists (such as Thomas Davis) as well as Unionists such as Thomas MacKnight argued that Ireland could not call itself a nation until the term was used unselfconsciously to include the members of all Ireland's religious communities.

Debate continues about how far eighteenth-century Ireland was either a relatively 'normal' European *ancien régime* society¹⁹ or a dysfunctional colony with a minority ruling by force over an alien majority. Its crimes and vices, however, are increasingly seen in their contemporary context rather than as they appeared in the retrospective gaze of nineteenth-century reformers.²⁰ One of the best introductions to eighteenth-century

Ireland is David Dickson, *Ireland: New Foundations, 1660–1800* (2nd edition, 2000) which provides a welcome synthesis of the ongoing reinterpretation by academics of Early Modern Ireland. One major criticism of a history focussing on the Irish Parliament of the eighteenth century has been that it overlooks the political identity of the Catholic majority and often underplays the appetite for radicalism during this period, particularly in the 1790s. The image of a native people reduced to universal immiseration, found in Daniel Corkery's *Hidden Ireland* (1924) itself reproducing what were seen as the commonplaces of social history, has been challenged by the recognition of the survival of an 'underground gentry' of large tenant farmers.²¹ After years of neglect Irish Jacobitism has been rehabilitated into an exciting avenue of research by authors such as Breandan Ó Buachalla²² and Eamonn Ó Ciardha in his *Ireland and the Jacobite cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment* (2002). Jacobitism with its ideology of allegiance to the deposed and exiled Stuart kings, is now seen as a serious political project commanding widespread allegiance well into the eighteenth century throughout Ireland, while the existence of agrarian secret societies has been rescued from conservative denunciations and later nationalist/liberal denial, co-option or condescension.²³

The eighteenth-century Patriot tradition, seen by admirers as encapsulated in the relatively autonomous settlement of 1782 known as 'Grattan's Parliament',²⁴ has been debunked so often that it is hard for twenty-first-century readers to realise the nature and extent of its attractions for earlier commentators. Liberal unionists and radical nationalists rapidly pointed out that the eighteenth-century Irish Parliament, dominated by government appointees and representatives of an 'Irish [political] nation' which was predominantly aristocratic and exclusively Protestant, are problematic ancestors for the populist nationalism of the nineteenth century.²⁵ The view that Grattan's Parliament would have repealed all anti-Catholic legislation but for malign English pressure is now recognised as retrospective fabrication. There was significant pressure from Westminster to relax these Penal Laws; the major repeal measures in the 1790s reflected a tactical 'race for the Catholics' with patriots and Westminster competing for Catholic support.²⁶ Jacqueline Hill's study of the Dublin guilds under the unreformed corporation of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries shows how their Patriot politics, based on corporate privilege, metamorphosed into support for the Union with Britain as a bulwark of Protestant ascendancy.²⁷

Recent scholars such as Gerard O'Brien emphasise that 'patriotism' was less a coherent position than a rhetoric used by political 'Outs'

to harass political 'Ins' and make themselves worth buying off.²⁸ The representative figure of the tradition may not be Grattan, with his recognition that 'the Irish Protestant cannot be free so long as the Irish Catholic is a slave' but the ruthlessly job-seeking and anti-Catholic arriviste John Foster (1740–1828).²⁹ Modern social and economic historians (notably L. M. Cullen) add that the image of a country raised by Grattan's Parliament to prosperity within a few years, by legislation promoting tillage and encouraging Irish industries and still invoked to support Fianna Fáil's (FFs)³⁰ policies of encouraging tillage and industrial protectionism in the 1930s, underestimates earlier economic development and ignores the influence of demand from an industrialising Britain.³¹ Where then did the glowing image of Grattan's Parliament originate? In the sense of political betrayal and economic decay after the failure of the Union to produce political stability and British-style growth; in the decaying physical relics of eighteenth-century grandeur conspicuous in Dublin; in the fact that eighteenth-century Patriots, unlike United Irishmen, could be presented as respectable models for Irish nationalism within the British system; in the personal cult of Grattan, appealing to constitutional nationalists and liberal unionists cataloguing lost opportunities for an Irish patriotism encompassing (or led by) the landed gentry.³² The image of Grattan as eminently constitutionalist has recently been challenged by Daniel Mansergh, who presents him as pioneering mass mobilisation to bring pressure to bear on administration, and as a half-willing initiator of a radicalisation which escalated into the violence of 1798.³³

the united irishmen

The United Irish Society, founded as a reformist movement and which developed into the secret society behind the great Rising of 1798 was, for a long time, too sensitive a topic for direct discussion after its defeat. Loyalists fitted the rebellion to the template of accounts of seventeenth-century conflicts which depicted Irish Protestants as victims and Catholics as perennial persecutors, while liberals (and many surviving rebels) attributed it to official provocation. A countervailing tendency towards romanticising the rebels as selfless heroes developed with Young Ireland³⁴ and the belated gathering of oral testimony by figures such as R. R. Madden and Luke Cullen.³⁵ This became dominant in the later nineteenth century, encouraged by celebrations of the 1898 centenary as a nationalist counterblast to Queen Victoria's 1897 Diamond Jubilee. The Wexford-born Franciscan friar P. F. Kavanagh produced

a *People's History of 1798* combining criticism of the United Irishmen as a secret society with exaltation of those Wexford priests (a small minority condemned by their bishop) who participated in the Rising. This 'priests and people' interpretation dominated commemorations in 1898 and 1948.³⁶ The first major post-independence narrative history of 1798, *The Year of Liberty* (1969) by Thomas Pakenham, is shaped by the Northern Troubles and emphasises violence and bloodshed.

The run-up to the bicentenary in 1998 produced a wide range of new publications.³⁷ One of the dominant interpretative frames was supplied by Kevin Whelan. Whelan argued that accounts such as Pakenham's were distorted by reliance on loyalist propaganda, apologetics emanating from liberals and defeated rebels and retrospective accounts by Catholic populists, all of whom had a vested interest in downplaying popular politicisation and portraying the rebellion as a spontaneous uprising by ignorant and bigoted (or peaceful until provoked) masses. Instead, Whelan argues, the Wexford Rising was a planned mobilisation by a pre-existing organisation. Whelan's villains are the Dublin Castle administration, presented as manipulating if not actually creating Orangeism, as well as the Catholic hierarchy and Daniel O'Connell, for propagating a specifically Catholic version of Irishness which Whelan sees as displacing the Enlightenment views disseminated by the United Irishmen and – it is implied – only recovered again in the 1990s.³⁸ Another of Whelan's contributions to the ongoing and unresolved 1798 debate, the *Fellowship of Freedom: The United Irishmen and 1798* (1998) reflect the changes in historiography around United Irishmen research and writing. He includes and expands on work by academics such as Nancy J. Curtin,³⁹ allowing for the appreciation of the success of United Irishmen propaganda and other aspects such as the role of women in Irish radicalism, the influence of freemasonry and the influence of the United Irishmen on social and cultural thought. Curtin's work is seen as one of the most sustained and comprehensive reassessments of the subject in her detailed analysis of the United Irishmen and their success in enlisting mass, popular support.

Another pupil of L. M. Cullen, Tom Dunne, argues that the Whelan interpretation is unrealistic in assuming that the Catholic peasantry either had no political culture of their own or were entirely transformed by a few years of United Irish propaganda. He states that considerable evidence exists of more atavistic, and perfectly understandable, popular attitudes based on memories of conquest, dispossession and religious persecution, and that the good intentions of the United Irishmen and the atrocities and propaganda of the loyalists cannot obliterate the

consequences of invoking widespread popular violence.⁴⁰ Much of the scholarship on 1798 concentrates on why the Rebellion took the course it did. While works by Whelan, Cullen, O'Flanagan and others⁴¹ are invaluable the most detailed account of the Rebellion in Wexford can be found in Daniel Gahan, *The People's Rising: Wexford in 1798* (1995). A. T. Q. Stewart, *The Summer Soldiers: The 1798 Rebellion in Antrim and Down* (1995), deals with Ulster while Kildare and Wicklow are the focus of Liam Chambers' *Rebellion in Kildare, 1790–1803* (1998) and *The Rebellion in Wicklow, 1798* (1998) by Ruan O'Donnell respectively. Ian McBride's *Scripture Politics: Ulster Presbyterians and Irish Radicalism in the Late Eighteenth Century* (1998) discusses how far the particular form which the United Irish movement took in Ulster was influenced by specifically Presbyterian beliefs.

the union and o'connellism

Moving on from the historiography of the 1798 Rebellion, two interpretative frameworks are discernable in discussions of Irish politics under the Union, recuperating debates that took place throughout the Union's existence. Liberal unionists such as William Cooke Taylor argued that the Union had been unavoidable and it could be saved by constructive unionist politics.⁴² Nationalist accounts emphasised the corruption which smoothed its ratification and argued that its co-option by Ascendancy, post-Union resistance to Catholic Emancipation and the general tardiness of reform were inevitable, not only because of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudice in Britain, but because the sheer difference between Ireland and Britain made their political cultures incompatible. The debate, about the extent to which the corruption used to secure the Union exceeded contemporary standards of political manoeuvre, is continued by G. C. Bolton, Patrick Geoghegan and David Wilkinson.⁴³ A useful summary of the Act and its historiography is Michael Brown, Patrick Geoghegan and James Kelly's (eds) *The Irish Act of Union, 1800: Bicentennial Essays* (2003). The London-Irish Liberal journalist, Richard Barry O'Brien, is now chiefly remembered as the official biographer of Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–1891), but his contemporary political significance rested on his voluminous compilations, which documented the repeated blocking of reforms within the Union by landlord interests and which argued that Liberal principles logically entailed granting the desire of the Irish majority for autonomy.⁴⁴ Liberal Unionists such as Thomas MacKnight put forward a rival narrative which listed reforms undertaken by Liberal governments under the Union and arguing that

only by its continuation could Ireland be preserved as a viable polity, since the alternative was sectarian civil war and economic ruin.⁴⁵ The central problem with these arguments was that the inability of Unionists to secure mass political support outside Ulster after the extension of the franchise in 1885 meant that such 'constructive Unionism' implied a form of 'enlightened despotism' hard to square with liberal principles. For an intensive meditation on the workings and long-term consequences of the Union the most comprehensive works are Oliver MacDonagh, *Ireland: The Union and its Aftermath* (1977) and *States of Mind* (1985). For a view which emphasises the limitations and hypocrisies of British Liberalism as applied to Ireland, see the writings of J. J. Lee, such as *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848–1918* (1973).

The campaign for Catholic emancipation is often personified in Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847), obscuring his numerous allies. One of the key works which allows a comprehensive overview of O'Connell and Catholic Emancipation is Fergus O'Ferrall's *Catholic Emancipation: Daniel O'Connell and the Birth of Irish Democracy* (1985). The starting point for any modern study of O'Connell is the eight volumes of O'Connell's correspondence edited by Maurice O'Connell (1973–80) and also his *Daniel O'Connell: The Man and his Politics* (Dublin, 1990). This provides the basis for Oliver MacDonagh's classic biography *O'Connell* (1991).⁴⁶ O'Connell's parliamentary career is generally regarded as more anti-climactic; though he allied with the Whig Party (especially after 1836) and secured legislation on tithe and local government, the value of these concessions was limited by conservative resistance and the Whigs themselves, who generally viewed O'Connell with contempt. Later separatists argued that while O'Connell advocated non-violence he might not have obtained those concessions without the peasant resistance, and noted that while refusing office himself he secured it for others. This reveals a tension in the interpretation of Emancipation; from a primarily nationalist standpoint, office-taking under the Union represented corruption, but it could also be seen as breaking traditional Tory-Orange dominance of administration and fulfilling Catholic Emancipation. Angus D. MacIntyre's *The Liberator: Daniel O'Connell and the Irish Party, 1830–1847* (1965) deals specifically with O'Connell as a parliamentarian. Desmond Keenan's *Ireland 1800–1850* (2001) and *The Grail of Catholic Emancipation* (2002) are more sceptical studies, which draw heavily on the Whig-liberal unionist newspaper the *Dublin Evening Post*.

Irene Whelan has shown that the decisive factor in driving Catholic bishops to supporting O'Connell's populist agitation for Catholic emancipation was the fear that resurgent Evangelical Protestantism might

gain sufficient influence to put the power of the state behind Protestant proselytism.⁴⁷ Thereafter a significant theme of episcopal politics was the desire to improve Catholic representation within the administrative apparatus and create a Catholic professional class responsive to the wishes of the hierarchy. Secondary schools such as Clongowes⁴⁸ aimed to create such an élite, even if their products tended to move across Europe and the Empire rather than remain in Ireland. The attendant struggle for a Catholic University was an attempt to supervise all stages of the professional formation of such a class; and the unwillingness of any British government to recognise such an institution reflected the limitations of any attempt to underpin the Union by co-opting the Catholic clergy. This is extensively detailed in Donal Kerr's *Peel, Priests and Politics: Sir Robert Peel's Administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1841–46* (1984) and also in his work *Nation of Beggars? Priests, People, and Politics in Famine Ireland, 1846–1852* (1998).⁴⁹ This administration-centred 'Catholic Whiggery' existed throughout the Union, in shifting an unstable combination with various shades of nationalism and liberal unionism; the bishops were unable to provide stable mass support for such an elite, while nationalists such as Charles Gavan Duffy (1816–1903) and A.M. Sullivan (1829–84) argued that 'faith and fatherland' were better served by the nationalism of a predominantly Catholic people than by a self-serving elite, who would inevitably ingratiate themselves with existing power structures and betray clerical patrons once these were of no further use to them.⁵⁰ The result of these tensions and compromises, as well as the Catholic faith of the majority and the commitment of Catholic religious, was a major Catholic clerical role in the administration of Irish social policy that survived for most of the twentieth century.

The nineteenth-century historiography of O'Connell tended to be based on the image of O'Connell as a specifically Catholic and clericalist hero-figure or on the Young Ireland critique of him as a great man corrupted by autocratic leadership, a desire to make deals with Whig administrations to obtain jobs for relatives, and a 'morbid' fear of bloodshed. The critical view was strengthened by the defeat of the Home Rule party by Sinn Féin, who presented themselves as heirs to Young Ireland and cast their constitutionalist opponents as neo-O'Connellite job-hunters. An extreme expression of this interpretation is the view that O'Connell's campaign for Catholic Emancipation merely benefited West-British Catholic jobbers whereas national independence would have automatically brought religious equality.⁵¹ The 1905 publication of O'Connell's youthful journal, which revealed that he had been

alienated from Catholic orthodoxy for a period, began a renewed interest in O'Connell as reforming radical and democrat in Sean Ó Faolain's popular biography *King of the Beggars: A Life of Daniel O'Connell* (1938); its highpoint is Maurice O'Connell's edition of the *Liberator's* correspondence and Oliver MacDonagh's standard biography.

The possibility should be considered, however, that this version of O'Connell is oversanitised, in regarding the *Liberator* primarily as a liberal, glossing over his verbal violence and in presenting O'Connellism as an extension of O'Connell. While much research needs to be done on O'Connell and his politics, one of the best recent assessments of these is Oliver MacDonagh, in his 'O'Connell's ideology' in Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (eds) *The Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c. 1750–1850* (1997).⁵² Relatively little work has been done on the relationship between O'Connellism and the 'tithe war' of the 1830s, and how this fed conservative-Protestant narratives which looked to the return of a Conservative government, expectations which were disappointed by the unwillingness of the Peel government of 1841–6 to embrace Protestant exclusivism.⁵³ Also of real interest to researchers are the social networks that drove O'Connellite mobilisation, which is part of the more recent approach to O'Connellism emphasising popular mobilisation and political symbolism being developed by Gary Owens.⁵⁴

the young ireland tradition and the famine

The Young Ireland movement of the 1840s⁵⁵ is of interest for its impact on later generations through its didactic mass nationalist literature. The contrast drawn by Young Irelanders such as Thomas Davis between their role as educators (through *The Nation*⁵⁶ newspaper) and O'Connellite reliance on a single arbitrary leader also highlights the political role of newspapers in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ireland. For most of the Union period (and to some extent beyond it) conservative newspapers enjoyed disproportionate success because of their attractiveness to advertisers. The tension between newspapers as political vehicles and commercial entities is an abiding theme of Irish media history, with recurring rivalries between journals whose primary aims were political, or educational, as their conductors might have it, acquiring both support and constraints from a political movement (the *Nation*, *United Ireland*) and those which enjoyed more commercial success but were constrained by fear of political hostility; for instance, the *Freeman's Journal* before its capture by the Irish Party, the *Irish Independent* under

the Murphy dynasty. The growth of literacy led to an expanding newspaper market; Mary-Louise Legg has charted how expansions in local newspaper titles coincided with the major political agitations of the O'Connell era and the 1880s.⁵⁷ The last major political newspaper conceived as the vehicle for a movement was FFs *Irish Press* (1931–95), a direct response to the perception that newspaper opposition was a major hindrance to the growth of the party;⁵⁸ although party 'house journals' survived at the end of the twentieth century, newer media reduced them to niche operations.

In 1945 the centenary of Davis's death attracted more official attention than the centenary of the Famine, but the Young Ireland cult had already become fossilised through the demise of the Union and land system against which they defined themselves and through the appearance of more recent and prestigious literary and political heroes, even if some of these, such as Pearse, removed certain Young Ireland writers from their context to exalt them as preachers of a timeless 'Gospel of Nationality'. Present-day interest in the Young Ireland movement is stronger among North American and Australian scholars than in Ireland. The major recent study of the movement is by the Tasmanian scholar Richard Davis, and Young Ireland exiles play a central role in Thomas Kenneally's popular account of the post-Famine diaspora in *The Great Shame* (1989).⁵⁹ Such accounts along with the biographies of Thomas Davis by the Australian John Molony, *'A Soul Came into Ireland': Thomas Davis 1814–45* (1995); and the American Helen Mulvey *Thomas Davis and Ireland* (2003), do not fully escape patterns laid down by nineteenth-century idealisation. A better approach might involve placing the Young Irishlanders in relation to the Irish Whig and Tory intelligentsias of their day. The latter have been intermittently explored, the former almost entirely neglected; researchers would need to assess the options open to these young activists and the context within which they defined themselves.

The overshadowing of the Famine by Young Ireland was partly due to an impulse already visible in such works as John Mitchel's *Last Conquest of Ireland – Perhaps* (facsimile 2006) indicating a sense of the Famine as a humiliation and defeat and an attempt to present the Young Irishlanders' 1848 rebellion,⁶⁰ however ramshackle and abortive, as a redeeming gesture of defiance. This overshadows the extent to which many Young Irishlanders feared popular violence before the uprising and, after its failure, felt disgust that the people had not followed them.⁶¹ Mitchel also attempts to redeem the Famine by attributing it to British malevolence – part of a struggle that is still going on and can

therefore still be redeemed by victory.⁶² Nationalist (especially separatist) commentators on later near-famines, such as those of 1879 and 1899 in Connacht, both of which provoked major land agitation, often blurred the difference further by assimilating the whole of Ireland to the poorest regions of the West and speaking as if the Famine was still going on; for example, food exports during the First World War were presented by separatists as potentially (and deliberately) producing a new Famine. This trope declined with the recession of the Great Famine into history and with the new Irish state's experiences of administrative responsibility. Traces recur in some material from the 150th anniversary commemorations presenting Ireland and the Irish diaspora as suffering an ongoing psychological trauma traceable specifically to the Famine. Mitchel's conspiracy theory, though almost universally rejected by scholars, starts from a *prima facie* case also put forward, without the same conclusion, by the Irish Conservative (and subsequent Home Rule leader) Isaac Butt⁶³ – how could so many have died, in a short period of time, 1845–9, in part of the wealthiest state on earth? How was it also that British policy was based on the concept that Ireland should pay for itself, rather than being a charge on the whole United Kingdom? The Mitchelian view that no reform could be expected from the landlord-dominated British government was challenged by land reform from the 1880s but survived in popular culture and the Republican subculture. Modern Famine scholarship was initially dominated by an administrative perspective, visible in the O'Neill and Edwards volume of 1956 and inspired by the move from published to archival sources;⁶⁴ this has been supplemented by studies of political and literary culture analysing the factors which shaped official famine policy and the nature of contemporary responses.

The predominant academic view until the early 1990s was that while the official response to the Famine had often been shortsighted, nevertheless, the Famine was an unavoidable Malthusian catastrophe, a view underlying the contemporary official response. Cormac O Grada, however, argued that Irish society was adapting before the Famine (albeit slowly and painfully); while significant population decline and emigration were unavoidable, the Famine itself was caused by the unpredictable appearance of the blight.⁶⁵ This implies government could have made more difference. A principal symbol of the shortcomings of government policy was Treasury Secretary Charles Trevelyan, chief coordinator of official relief schemes and author of the principal government apology, to which Mitchel's work is a riposte. Trevelyan as chief villain was popularised by Cecil Woodham-Smith's *The Great*

Hunger: Ireland: 1845–1849 (1992) but this has recently been challenged by Robin Haines.⁶⁶ The Famine anniversary of the mid-1990s raised public consciousness and produced a great deal of local material. Christine Kinealy's studies of the administration of relief and the sufferings of its recipients were particularly outspoken in condemnation of official attitudes.⁶⁷ Peter Gray in *Famine, Land and Politics: British Government and Irish Society 1843–1850* (1999) explored the sources of government policy, arguing that a 'providentialist' blend of loosely evangelical religion and belief in the laws of classical economics as divinely-ordained, restricted government willingness to intervene.

fenianism and the irish republican brotherhood (irb)

Attempts to recreate a constitutional nationalist party based on the tenant right issue broke down through personality disputes, sectarian tensions and the willingness of some leading party members to accept office under a Liberal Government.⁶⁸ Some Liberal commentators argued that the 'shock therapy' of the Famine had in fact produced beneficial long-term economic results which were making the political assimilation of Ireland within the Union possible. These predictions were rapidly falsified by the appearance of a new radical nationalist organisation, helped by the growing political and economic clout of the Irish emigrant community in America. Founded in 1858, the underground separatist IRB⁶⁹ maintained a continuous existence until 1924. Much of the early literature on the movement consists of participant memoirs placing the organisation in a heroic light; this was echoed by many writers in the mid-twentieth century, encouraged by the role of the early twentieth-century IRB in the independence struggle and its participants' emphasis on continuity with the older rebellion. This was reinforced by well-researched biographies, such as Marcus Bourke's *John O'Leary, Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism*, (1969) in the years around the 1967 centenary of the Fenian Rising. A rival tradition treating Fenianism with pity or derision derived from loyalist and constitutional nationalist writers; already visible in the late Victorian and Edwardian period it was forced into occlusion by events after 1916 but revived in recent decades, partly because of the use of police files – which display considerable contempt for their subjects – as a major source. Leon O Broin, who produced the first full narrative history of the IRB, uses administrative sources but is generally reverential.⁷⁰

A sharp dose of demythologisation was administered in the 1980s by R.V. Comerford, much of whose work explores the full range of

mid-century Irish political activity obscured by later theories of nationalist 'apostolic succession'. Comerford argues in *The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and Society, 1848–82* (1985) that the IRB of the 1860s is best viewed as the product of that particular time and place. He writes that most activists were primarily interested in recreation and social self-assertion, and that much sympathy for Fenianism arose after it was safely defeated and available for co-option.⁷¹ Comerford has been challenged by John Newsinger and other critics, often from leftist or republican perspectives, who argue that the personal risk and sacrifice involved, at least on the part of core activists, indicate serious ideological commitment.⁷² The combination of high membership turnover with a highly committed core is common among radical groups, so the two views are not necessarily contradictory. Owen McGee's recent history of the IRB reflects extensive knowledge of the source material and desire to rehabilitate the 'forgotten generation' of Irish-based IRB activists who emerged after 1867 and who were sidelined by Parnellism and displaced by younger separatists before the 1916 Rising. McGee, to some extent, applies the Whelan thesis to the late-Victorian IRB, presenting the participants as genuinely secular republicans, outmanoeuvred and written out of history by Catholic-constitutionalist politicians whose sensibility influenced even the following generation of republican-separatists.⁷³ As with Whelan, this can be criticised as projecting contemporary secularist attitudes onto the past.

the land question and home rule

The alliance between Parnellite parliamentarians, the IRB and land agitation after the agricultural downturn of the late 1870s produced the almost uniquely effective nationalist political machine of the 1880s. Earlier nineteenth century grassroots agitation was driven by separatists who believed, as did the conservatives of the *Evening Mail*, that the British parliament would never undercut the rights of property.⁷⁴ However, the unexpected willingness of Gladstone to make concessions to tenants and his subsequent embrace of Home Rule gave constitutional nationalism a degree of credibility never anticipated by radical separatists. This led some later commentators to see the post-1886 Home Rule alliance as 'natural'; the attempts of the 1880–5 Gladstone government to contain agitation by force as well as concessions, and the opportunistic nature of the embrace of Home Rule by most of Gladstone's lieutenants are relatively under-emphasised by scholars, yet provide much of the explanation for the willingness of the Parnellite minority to resist

Gladstone and the anti-Parnellite majority in the 1890 split. Much academic history from the mid-twentieth century focussed on the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP)⁷⁵ led by Charles Stewart Parnell⁷⁶ and subsequently by John Redmond. This reflected, among other things, the literary impact of the 'Parnell myth' deriving from contemporary Parnellite propaganda and taken up by Yeats and Joyce and the importance of the Irish Question in late Victorian and Edwardian British politics. This led to an extensive literature surrounding the upheavals it produced in the British political system. Much of this literature reflected the tendency of British liberal historians – such as J. L. Hammond⁷⁷ – and some Irish historians who regretted the violence of 1916–23 and the limitations of the successor states to suggest a Home Rule parliament might have allowed gradual and peaceful transition to independence and a society more receptive to outside influences and less defensive.

The 'lost opportunity' historiography had two principal foci – the defeat of Gladstonian Home Rule and the later career of John Redmond. The first major study of the IPP as a whole was Conor Cruise O'Brien's *Parnell and His Party* (1957), covering the years 1880–90.⁷⁸ The great pioneer of the academic study of the IPP was F. S. L. Lyons, whose works included the first full-scale biography of Parnell since Barry O'Brien (there had been several shorter lives), a biography of John Dillon, *The Fall of Parnell* (1960) and a survey *Ireland Since the Famine* (1971) which became a widely used school and college textbook.⁷⁹ His works, like Cruise O'Brien's study and the studies of ecclesiastical high politics by Emmet Larkin,⁸⁰ reacted against the supporters of the 'Parnell myth' who viewed the anti-Parnellites as cravenly subservient to Gladstone and the Catholic bishops. Instead these works emphasise the rational motivations of anti-Parnellism and the extent to which Parnell's refusal to accept majority rule can be seen as undermining his own achievements and anti-democratic. The Parnellite view that the anti-Parnellites were not a majority of Irish nationalists because they had ceased to be nationalists strikingly recalls later claims by hardline Republicans. Lyons' *The IPP 1890–1910* (1951) was the first account of a period traditionally overshadowed by the intense activity of the late 1880s and the years before the First World War.⁸¹ Margaret O'Callaghan's *British High Politics and a Nationalist Ireland: Criminality, Land and the Law under Forster and Balfour* (1994) is an interesting critique of the 'lost opportunity' view of the Parnell movement which argues that even before the split created by the divorce case, British Unionism had successfully countered the Gladstone–Parnell alliance by presenting the land agitation and its parliamentary allies as essentially

criminal rather than political. McGee's IRB history takes a similar view, though his revival of the contemporary separatist claim that even the Gladstonians never intended to implement Home Rule and supported it merely to divert Irish nationalist opinion from more radical options has not found general acceptance.

In many respects Lyons' works have not stood up well to subsequent research; he takes a Westminster-centred approach which downgrades such phenomena as the 'Ranch War',⁸² and his memoir-based framework draws less deeply on archival material than appears at first sight. These deficiencies have been addressed by younger scholars. Alan O'Day, for instance, also takes a Westminster-centric approach but in a variety of authored and edited volumes explores his material more deeply and widely than Lyons.⁸³ Paul Bew's major contributions have been to conceptualise the nature and limitations of the relationship between the Irish Party and agrarian politics throughout its existence, and the limitations of its attitudes to the Unionist minority; his view of Parnell as a fundamentally conservative figure trying to retain some role in Irish life for his class by detaching it from the unsustainable land system remains dominant.⁸⁴ There were numerous publications on Parnell around the 1991 centenary of his death. The major recent contributions to the Parnell literature have been Frank Callanan's study of the Parnell Split and a biography of T. M. Healy.⁸⁵ Callanan's strongly researched rehabilitation of the Parnellite perspective emphasises the vitriolic Catholic-populist invective deployed by the anti-Parnellite Healy, whose verbal savagery tends to be overshadowed by the high-politics approach of Lyons and Larkin, but which was central to the Parnellite image of martyrdom, and the irresponsibility and incompetence displayed by most of Parnell's lieutenants-turned opponents. It is debatable (and probably unknowable) how far Callanan's view of Parnell as engaged in a visionary attempt to coalesce disadvantaged groups against the dominance of the conservative Catholic-farmer and professional ethos represented by Healy represents a projection of later concerns; a more cynical reading of Parnell in an opportunistic struggle for personal power cannot be excluded. David Lawlor's *Divine Right? The Parnell Split in County Meath* (2007) is a useful local study of the most notorious example of anti-Parnellite clerical electoral intimidation, though greater contextualisation would be needed to sustain its claim that Meath was typical of the country as a whole. Dermot Meleady's *Redmond: The Parnellite* (2008) which covers its subject's career to 1900 in the first volume of a projected

two-volume study, provides (among other valuable material) the first detailed history of the Parnellite party between Parnell's death and party reunion in 1900.

Discussions of John Redmond produced before Meleady's ongoing reassessment echo the pattern established by his early apologetic biographers, Stephen Gwynn and Denis Gwynn, son of Stephen and author of the official life of Redmond.⁸⁶ Even pro-republican accounts of the period generally accept the Gwynn view of Redmond as a sincere patriot let down by British politicians and by extension present the IPP as ineffective rather than actively corrupt, as contemporary Republicans claimed. A focus on the self-consciously statesmanlike-Redmond also emphasises the 'dignified' aspect of the IPP, playing down the role of the sectarian Ancient Order of Hibernians within the IPP organisation and the continuing role of land agitation in keeping party organisations alive at local level. It is arguable that much treatment of the later Home Rule party involves seeing the more self-consciously conservative and constitutionalist commentators who called themselves Redmondites after 1918 as characteristic of the larger conglomerate IPP under Redmond; this is now being counterbalanced by local studies.⁸⁷ This can be developed further by asking how far has the distinction between constitutional and physical-force nationalism under the Union been retrospectively clarified and exaggerated in reaction against post-Union political violence and the revolutionary dictatorships of the twentieth-century world.⁸⁸ There is also a tendency, arising from Liberal nostalgia and the treating of the Third Home Rule Bill period as characteristic of the whole post-Parnell era, to play down the deep tensions between the Irish Party and post-Gladstonian Liberalism. It is acknowledged, for example, that suspicions of Liberals being lukewarm on Home Rule contributed to the weakening of the Irish party's hold on nationalist opinion from 1914. It is unfortunate in this context that Lyons' biography of Dillon, *John Dillon: A Biography* (1968), the leader most associated with the Liberal Alliance, is so under-theorised. Eugenio Biagini's *Irish Nationalism and British Democracy 1876–1906* (2007) is, however, an extensive survey of the nature and implications of the Liberal-IPP alignment for both parties, which argues that the Gladstonian home rule project did create a genuine affinity between the IPP and significant sections of British public opinion. David Fitzpatrick's *Politics and Irish Life 1913–21: Provincial Experiences of War and Revolution* (1998) centred on Co. Clare, was a pioneering study of the displacement of the IPP by Sinn Féin and maintains that there was considerable

continuity of personnel between the two movements at local level. Other local studies question how far Fitzpatrick's model is applicable to all localities.

Another of Parnell's lieutenants, William O'Brien, has provoked much recent debate over the Home Rule era. O'Brien came to prominence as the editor of Parnell's weekly paper *United Ireland*, and during the land agitation of the late 1880s his repeated imprisonments brought popularity almost equal to Parnell's own. O'Brien's maladroit manoeuvres during the 'Parnell' split permanently damaged his reputation, but from 1899 he emerged as the driving force of the United Irish League, which used a land agitation based in impoverished Connacht to unite the parliamentary nationalist factions in 1900. After the 1903 Land Conference agreement between landlords and tenants, O'Brien embraced the idea of gradual Home Rule through compromise with moderate Unionists, something he had previously opposed. O'Brien's political bungles led to marginalisation within the Home Rule movement; he founded a Cork-based dissident group, the All-for-Ireland League, but on retirement in 1918 endorsed Sinn Féin. O'Brien published four voluminous memoirs⁸⁹ but a life of O'Brien on the same scale as Callanan's *Healy* (1996) will probably be required to sort out the mixture of insight, fantasy, wishful thinking, semi-cryptic gossip and self-serving mendacity in his vast published and unpublished archive. There are two modern biographies.⁹⁰ Philip Bull in his *Politics and Nationalism: A Study of the Irish Land Question* (1998) sees O'Brien as incarnating lost possibilities for the IPP. He attributes the Party's long-term failure to the MPs' success in forestalling a grassroots-led renewal spearheaded by the United Irish League.⁹¹ Paul Bew's *Conflict and Conciliation* (1987) argues that the All-for-Ireland League represented a serious attempt to reconcile the Unionist minority. Callanan's treatment of O'Brien in his biography of Healy, who entered an opportunistic alliance with O'Brien in later years, is much more sceptical.

unionism under the union

The defeat of Southern Unionism (especially the hardline variety defined through defence of aristocratic rule and Protestant supremacy, which for obvious reasons lacks present-day exponents) distorts understanding of Irish politics under the Union, since contemporary nationalists and liberals defined themselves in reference to the existing regime and its defenders and cannot be fully understood apart from them. Only recently has significant work been carried out on

the conservative resistance to Catholic Emancipation and the political response of landlords and other Southern Irish conservatives (as distinct from the British government) to the Land War and the Home Rule movement.⁹² The intermediate period has recently been addressed by Andrew Shields's *The Irish Conservative Party 1852–1868: Land, Politics and Religion* (2007). An exception is the 'constructive unionism' of the 1880s and 1890s, seen as an attempt to defuse the demand for Home Rule by sponsoring land purchase and economic development, which inspired some 'lost opportunity' works. This is often seen as incarnated in Sir Horace Plunkett's private and official work for Irish agriculture (its genuine importance is enhanced by Plunkett's ability to attract the services of able and articulate publicists).⁹³ Andrew Gailey's *The Death of Kindness* (1987), a dissection of Unionist policy under the chief secretaryships of Gerald Balfour and George Wyndham, argues convincingly that their reform measures were opportunistic stopgaps rather than a worked-out strategy of 'killing Home Rule by kindness': it was privately criticised for opportunism by Plunkett and produced a backlash by a variety of hardline unionists.⁹⁴ The last years of Southern Unionism have been covered by Patrick Buckland and, in more personal and elegiac terms, R. B. MacDowell.⁹⁵ A recent tendency to present Southern Unionists as helpless victims of a bigoted majority has some validity, but requires the following qualifications: (1) the biggest losers among Southern Protestants/unionists were often least articulate; Southern Unionists from the business and professional classes were protected to some extent by their economic importance to the new state (2) Southern Unionism contained a strong anti-democratic element based on the view that those who knew best (in their own opinion) how to run the country should not be hindered by uncouth and ignorant majorities. Traces of this may be seen in ex-Unionist participation in the Blueshirt movement, this facet of the Blueshirts is under-explored by comparison with the movement's notorious reliance on Catholic corporatist ideology.⁹⁶

The role of Ulster Liberalism in post-1886 Unionism, though emphasised in such contemporary works as MacKnight's *Ulster As It Is* (1896) and giving rise to occasional tenant-farmer and Presbyterian protest movements even after 1886, has tended to lose out in accounts of Unionism because of its electoral weakness compared to Conservative Unionism, the decay of the Liberal-Nonconformist subculture in post-1914 Britain and the imagery, popular strength and institutional continuity of Orangeism.⁹⁷ Recent work, which highlights the strength of the Ulster Liberal Unionist tradition, includes Brian Walker's *Ulster Politics*

1868–86 (1989), which even suggests Liberalism might have bridged the Orange–Green divide in Ulster – a view widely questioned by other historians, and Paul Bew’s discussion of liberal Unionist responses to the Third Home Rule Bill in *Ideology and the Irish Question* (1998).⁹⁸ There are several useful studies of the politics of Victorian and Edwardian Belfast, then Ireland’s only industrial city, which produced both a nascent labour movement and a working-class Orange protest tradition (e.g. Ian Budge and Cornelius O’Leary, *Belfast* [1973]; Austen Morgan, *Labour and Partition* [1991]; Terence Bowman, *People’s Champion: The Life of Alexander Bowman* [1997]).

Ulster Unionist historiography tended to focus on the great rallies of the Ulster Crisis (1910–14) and the heroic image of Edward Carson as symbol of Ulster determination. This emphasis, reproduced in such works as *Ulster’s Stand for Union* (1922) by Ronald MacNeill and the official life of Carson by Marjoribanks and Colvin, was carried over into A. T. Q Stewart’s Buchanesque *The Ulster Crisis* (1967) and maintained by popular Unionist writers during the Troubles. Buckland’s *Ulster Unionism* (1972) places greater emphasis on Unionist organisation but still focusses primarily on the 1910–14 period.⁹⁹ The major reassessment of Unionist historiography has been carried out by Alvin Jackson, who has produced pioneering studies of the first Ulster Unionist leader, the Cavan landlord Edward Saunderson, a monograph on the late Victorian and Edwardian Irish Unionist parliamentary party and a short study of Carson as well as a survey history of modern Ireland and a book on the concept and politics of Home Rule.¹⁰⁰ Jackson highlights the shift in Ulster Unionist leadership at the beginning of the twentieth century from a predominantly Anglican landed elite in the ‘shatterzones’ of South Ulster to a more Presbyterian business class based in Belfast and the northeastern counties and more inclined to see itself in Ulster-particularist terms (since its main electoral base lay in the new elected local councils of north-east Ulster). He also details the ambivalence behind Unionist leaders’ threats of violence (contemporary nationalist and liberal accusations of ‘bluff’ were thus exaggerated but not entirely unfounded) and the Carson campaign’s reliance on significant British support (painfully relevant to post-1969 Unionist attempts at Carson-style mass mobilisation).

the irish revolution

Much of the significant work done on post-Parnellian Irish politics before the First World War has appeared in studies of the cultural

movement and of groups outside the Irish Party, such as the labour movement, the suffragettes and the cultural renaissance.¹⁰¹ These studies, however, often tend to be written from the viewpoint of advocates who show little interest in the motives of those who opposed or criticised their subjects; the literary movement also produced its mythologisations, which obscure as much as they offer insights. A wider synthesis is needed, incorporating these movements within its narrative rather than treating them as add-ons; Roy Foster's work (notably his Yeats biography) reflects such an approach.¹⁰² In some respects the best study of pre-1914 Sinn Féin is still Richard Davis' *Arthur Griffith and Non-Violent Sinn Féin* (1974).¹⁰³ There is no substantial account of the sizable faction within Sinn Féin that advocated republicanism rather than Griffith's Hungarian dual monarchy idea'.¹⁰⁴ Despite the widespread identification of Sinn Féin with Griffith, even biographies of him tend to focus on his post-1914 activities,¹⁰⁵ when he was largely a figurehead, rather than his earlier, more important role in the survival of a separatist movement. The primary focus of Padraic Colum's official biography is on the post-1916 period and Treaty.¹⁰⁶ Brian Maye's work is a bulky defence against criticisms rather than a fully conceptualised biography.¹⁰⁷ The present writer believes Griffith was the last Young Irelander as well as the forerunner of the post-independence Irish state, and that his 'Hungarian policy' was primarily a tactically motivated attempt to win over Irish Party supporters by reinventing Parnellism.¹⁰⁸ Sheila Carden in *The Alderman: A Life of Tom Kelly (1868–1842)* (2008) gives some useful insight into the role of municipal reform politics in pre-1914 Sinn Féin.

Padraic Pearse,¹⁰⁹ long seen as the iconic figure of the Easter Rising, has been downgraded in recent decades in reaction against the 'lay priest' image cultivated by his use of the language of Catholic martyrology and echoed by some early biographers.¹¹⁰ Despite the subsequent publication of documentary collections and some specialised studies, Pearse's historical image is still dominated by the Ruth Dudley Edwards biography, a conscious though not wholly unsympathetic demythologisation.¹¹¹ Pearse's image has also been affected by the historical rehabilitation of Eoin MacNeill, associated with FX Martin and with MacNeill's son-in-law, Michael Tierney. This research, groundbreaking in its time, is now ripe for reconsideration. The Tierney interpretation accepts MacNeill's perspective on such issues as Ulster Unionism without discussing how MacNeill's views may have been shaped, or distorted, by his Antrim background; the Catholic political and cultural conservatism shared by MacNeill and Tierney requires a more detached assessment.¹¹² From the

immediate post-Rising period an extensive literature grew up around James Connolly, building on Connolly's own writings which revise the nationalist canon, to argue that the natural consequence of the nationalist quest for equal citizenship is an Irish socialist republic imposing national control on the economy.¹¹³ Another minority view emphasises the role of the IRB and sees Tom Clarke as the iconic figure¹¹⁴ though this approach is limited by scarcity of material because of the secret nature of the IRB.

Because of its geographically diffuse nature the War of Independence has chiefly been seen either as a series of discrete local incidents viewed through contemporary memoirs, or as an extension of Michael Collins' Dublin campaign, viewed through a series of laudatory Collins¹¹⁵ biographies by Beaslai, O'Connor and Coogan among others.¹¹⁶ Recent academic work and the opening of new sources, such as the memoirs collected by the Bureau of Military History, are giving a clearer picture of the struggle, beginning with Charles Townshend's classic overview of *The British Military Campaign in Ireland* (1978).¹¹⁷ Michael Laffan's *The Resurrection of Ireland* (1999) analyses the development of the post-1916 Sinn Féin party as a mass movement, and its decay as the military struggle developed.¹¹⁸ Arthur Mitchell's *Revolutionary Government in Ireland* (1994) reconstructs the Dáil administrative system, although it can be questioned how much purchase these had at ground level.¹¹⁹ Mary Ellen Kotsonouris's *Retreat from Revolution: The Dáil courts 1920–24* (1996) and David Foxton's *Revolutionary Lawyers: Sinn Féin and the British Courts, 1916–1923* (2008) are also relevant. Scholars associated with David Fitzpatrick's Trinity College seminar in the 1980s, notably Peter Hart and Joost Augusteijn, have produced local studies of the IRA's military campaign, replacing the lazy images of universal popular mobilisation against an alien enemy and the emphases on the exploits of flying columns with studies of how mass support for the campaign developed, of the networks on which the flying columns relied, and the processes whereby a relatively small proportion of total IRA membership came to engage Crown forces in direct combat.¹²⁰ Michael Hopkinson in *The Irish War of Independence* (2002) has produced the first survey of the War of Independence to cover the whole country.¹²¹

ireland from 1922

The post-independence state can be seen both as a success story, symbolised by two peaceful changes of government within 25 years

of a civil war and the preservation of parliamentary democracy while most of Europe succumbed to dictators, and also a story of economic failure and social authoritarianism not finally dissipated until the 1990s. A further paradox is that the accommodation of powerful vested interests within the political system can be seen both as responsible for democratic success and as the cause of socio-economic failure. One of the major British legacies to the southern state was inserted almost casually in the 1920 Government of Ireland Act; the single transferable vote system of proportional representation in multi-seat constituencies. This encouraged small parties and competition between candidates within parties. It has been the subject of intermittent debate throughout the state's existence. The dominant criticism levelled in the state's early decades was that it encouraged political fragmentation and could potentially lead to instability.¹²² In fact this was restrained by the emergence of a bipolar 'FF versus the rest' system. This view was predictably associated with the largest party, FF, which made two attempts to introduce a 'first past the post' system; it was also held by some Fine Gael sympathisers. The most notable of these sympathisers was James Hogan, whose *Election and Representation* (1945), perhaps the most intelligent work of conservative political thought in twentieth-century Ireland, recalls how in the late 1920s FF used the Cosgrave government's dependence on independents to deny its legitimacy and argues that a strictly proportional system, producing lengthy minority government, might have plunged Ireland into 'Mexican politics'.¹²³

It should also be borne in mind that some expectations of supporters of the system, such as Swiss-style coalition governments containing all major parties, have not been realised and there has been a tendency to reduce proportionality by reducing the size of constituencies. More recent criticisms of the system come from an administration-centred perspective which argues that the absence of safe seats and strength of intraparty competition encourage representatives to focus on constituency issues, and suggest a nationwide list system might produce higher-calibre legislators. This reflects an ongoing discussion about whether the tendency of the post-independence state towards centralisation, visible in such measures as the appointment of city and county managers to oversee the functions of elected councils, disempowered local communities through remote and unaccountable government, or whether a decentralised administration would have been dominated by corrupt and self-serving local vested interests.¹²⁴

the civil war and treatyite politics

In terms of professional historiography the pro-Treaty side benefited from greater articulacy and desire to state their case to overseas audiences.¹²⁵ The most forceful recent statement of the view that the defeat of the Republicans was vital in preserving Irish democracy is Tom Garvin's *1922: The Birth of Irish Democracy* (1996). Garvin emphasises how republican rhetoric denied legitimacy to anyone who disagreed with them and the considerable potential for localised anarchy and misrule stifled by the imposition of central authority.¹²⁶ Bill Kissane's *The Origins of Irish Democracy* (2002) questions this approach, emphasising that Irish nationalist politics were already permeated by democratic assumptions. He notes that there was a long history of electoral competition, especially at local government level, and nationalists had long based their claim to autonomy on an electoral mandate.¹²⁷ This, however, is not necessarily incompatible with the view that the Civil War represented a vital conjuncture at which a different outcome could have disrupted democratic development. For example, pre-independence nationalist politics also favoured belief in a single dominant party.

Kissane's *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* (2005), while rightly pointing out that Free State authorities resorted to or tolerated such measures as death squads and executions by courts-martial during the Civil War, flinches from, rather than refuting the argument that such measures might have been necessary to preserve the new state.¹²⁸ John Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution 1922–36* (1999) serves as a valuable corrective to accounts that play down repressive and authoritarian elements within pro-Treaty politics.¹²⁹ It is marred, however, by a contemptuous attitude towards its subjects, and an unargued assumption that counter-revolution is generally bad and revolution good without ever defining revolution. Regan assumes that a Redmondite Catholic professional class were the pre-war establishment, and the increasing dominance of Catholic professionals within Cumann na nGaedheal¹³⁰ at the expense of populist ex-Sinn Féiners represented a return to the status quo. It is arguable that the conservative wing of Cumann na nGaedheal saw themselves as upholding the independence project against criticisms from Britain and Unionists, the latter disproportionately represented in the commercial sector. Regan also underestimates how far they were motivated by desire to rebut Unionist predictions that a Catholic-nationalist state would break down through sheer infantile lawlessness and incompetence. This argument is reinforced by the government's attempts to legitimise itself through bureaucratic managerialism,

symbolised by its well-publicised Shannon Scheme, which supplied hydroelectric power of a volume far greater than the country's immediate needs but allowing the later development of a national electricity supply grid.

The debate over pro-Treaty politics links up with an older argument about the Blueshirts.¹³¹ Critics of the movement have argued that it represented a serious fascist threat to Irish democracy; defenders claim its fascist trappings were superficial and its driving force was legitimate fear of a FF or IRA dictatorship, encouraged by systematic republican disruption of opposition meetings with their 'no free speech for traitors' calls, and reaction against the ruinous impact of the Economic War¹³² on the cattle trade. The first modern study, *The Blueshirts* (1971) by Maurice Manning, argues this defence case on the basis of interviews as well as published sources.¹³³ Mike Cronin emphasises the Economic War and the movement's role as sponsor of social gatherings, as suggested for the Fenians by Comerford.¹³⁴ Both play down its use of fascist symbolism and rhetoric, which were highlighted by Regan, who sees these as developing from authoritarian tendencies visible in the later years of the Cosgrave government. It might be noted, however, that some of de Valera's contemporary supporters praised his autarkic and pro-tillage policies as Mussoliniesque while denouncing the Blueshirts as pseudo-fascist West Britons. Fearghal McGarry, also the author of a book on Irish politics and the Spanish Civil War, has produced a biography of the Blueshirt leader Eoin O'Duffy that emphasises his political extremism and increasing personal instability.¹³⁵

the age of de valera

The contemporary Republican case over the Treaty has enjoyed less intellectual respectability, being associated with hardline republicanism or a FF propaganda noted for its rationalisations and elisions of awkward material. In the popular mind, Eamon de Valera dominates the first decades of the new state.¹³⁶ Despite the immense electoral success of FFs founding leader and the admiration his abilities engendered in a wide range of people who actually met him, the combination of his tortuous rationalisations, his view of executive power which regarded parliamentary oversight as undue interference with the authority of the government and reduced the Dáil to an electoral college; and the exhaustion of his governments and their original policies after 1945, contributed to the growth of a 'black legend' which overshadows his

contemporary defenders. The most notable of these is the official biography by T. P. O'Neill and Lord Longford, so extensively supervised by its subject that it has been called a disguised autobiography.¹³⁷ The most extreme statement of hostility is Tim Pat Coogan's *Eamon de Valera* (1995), which presents its subject as a self-glorifying neurotic secretly aware of his own fraudulence and attributes his electoral success to public ignorance and backwardness.¹³⁸ Diarmuid Ferriter's *Judging Dev: A Reassessment of the Life and Legacy of Eamon de Valera* (2007) draws on its subject's archive to attempt a more balanced view, while Deirdre MacMahon is at work on a major biography.

The rest of the FF leadership élite have been neglected in comparison with de Valera, even the numerous studies of Sean Lemass¹³⁹ are more concerned with his career as Taoiseach than his earlier role as de Valera's right-hand man. Dick Walsh's *The Party: Inside Fianna Fáil* (1986) is a journalistic account of the rank-and-file FF mindset, seen in retrospect by a journalist whose mature sympathies lay further to the left.¹⁴⁰ The indispensable academic analysis of FFs achievement and consolidation of political hegemony is Richard Dunphy's *The Making of Fianna Fáil Power in Ireland* (1995).¹⁴¹ Dunphy's work is particularly impressive in its analysis of how aspects of early FF, now recalled with distaste, were political assets in the 1920s and 1930s. Protectionism, now remembered chiefly for producing economic stagnation, had a long nationalist pedigree and enabled FF to appeal to both workers and employers, while the Cosgrave government's slowly eroding adherence to free trade, whatever its abstract merits, offered only remote and dubious hope.¹⁴² Similarly, the 1937 constitution, criticised by liberals at the time, and in recent decades, for its Catholic and familialist ethos, did reflect contemporary opinion and achieved a degree of consensus which escaped its Free State predecessor.

The early historiography of the Second World War period, known in the state as 'the Emergency', is marked by a defensive tone, seen as a reaction to contemporary British perceptions of Irish neutrality as implicitly pro-German. Such accounts emphasise the extent to which the Irish government in practice assisted the Allies, writing neutrality as a final assertion of Irish sovereignty, and asserting the extent to which it assisted in healing the divisions of the interwar period. Robert Fisk's *In Time of War* (1985), the first major archivally based study of Irish neutrality, implicitly justifies the desire of the southern government to assert its independence, at the same time downplaying the contribution of Northern Ireland to the Allied war effort and emphasising the abject incompetence of the Stormont government in preparing for air

attack and the sufferings of civilians in the 1941 Belfast blitz.¹⁴³ Some recent accounts are more critical of the operation of neutrality. Donal O'Drisceoil emphasises how wartime censorship assumed that the interests of the state and FF government were identical, treated legitimate debate as subversive and distorted public awareness by presenting the combatants as morally equivalent.¹⁴⁴ Brian Girvin is unusual in explicitly arguing that the Irish state would have done better to enter the war on the Allied side. Girvin's conclusion that Irish neutrality reinforced the tendencies towards self-righteousness, insularity and cultural and economic protectionism which contributed to the disastrous post-war performance of the state echoes Lyons' famous comparison of neutral Ireland to the inhabitants of Plato's cave blinking amazedly when they emerged into an utterly transformed post-war world.¹⁴⁵ This view is reinforced by the notorious tendency of both FF and Inter-Party governments in the immediate post-war period to exaggerate Ireland's importance on the world stage, consequently overestimating their leverage in seeking an end to partition. Their 'sore thumb' policy of raising partition at every international forum merely provoked impatience among delegates attempting to rebuild a devastated post-war Europe.¹⁴⁶

ireland since 1945: lemass and after

The period between 1945–59, which saw Ireland fall behind comparable nations in Western Europe, is recalled as a 'dark age' and has attracted less detailed attention than the period up to 1945, though this has changed as the long-term effects of the opening of the archives in the late 1980s and 1990s feed through into publications. Much of what has been written was driven by an understandable anger at national underperformance and its human consequences, especially when that underperformance seemed to be repeating itself in the 1980's. A classic example is J. J. Lee's pioneering survey, *Ireland 1912–85: Politics and Society*, written in 1986.¹⁴⁷ Tom Garvin argues that Ireland's pre-war performance was not particularly out of line with Western Europe, and that the post-war hiatus can be traced to decisions consciously not taken for ideological reasons and because of the opposition of vested interests. This is reminiscent of Lee's indictment of 'the possessor classes', or socialist advocacy of state planning as the answer to Ireland's problems, but Garvin's progressive views are much more those of a secular anti-Burkean right-winger who sees the function of government as the creation of a social, economic and intellectual infrastructure which allows the unleashing of individual potential. Such an infrastructure, in

this view, requires a class of experts and a population sufficiently well-educated to value expertise above the seductive slogans of irresponsible populists.¹⁴⁸

The obstructions to systematic change were epitomised by the first Inter-Party Government (1948–51) that tried to project an image of can-do modernity in reaction against de Valera's insistence that the government knew best and the people had no right to ask the government to explain itself. This, as much as the internal rivalries of a multi-party coalition, lay behind the self-projection of such ministers as Noel Browne and James Dillon as dynamos of action.¹⁴⁹ It also lay behind the government's implosion when Browne's colleagues refused to back his plans for a state-controlled maternity health service against the medical profession and the Catholic hierarchy, and helps to explain why it is chiefly remembered for this fiasco. It was also the government which finally declared the Irish Republic in 1949, and is remembered for establishing that an alternative government to FF was possible. However, that government has attracted at least one monograph¹⁵⁰ and there have been several studies of its most distinctive component, the short-lived social-republican party Clann na Poblachta.¹⁵¹ Another product of this period was the All-Party Anti-Partition Campaign, launched in response to the British guarantee of the constitutional status of Northern Ireland after the Republic's departure from the commonwealth. This rapidly came to be seen as a monumental hypocrisy by those southern politicians who were anxious not to be outdistanced on the issue by their political rivals. Grassroots members found the Irish government kept a tight control on the organisation and its propaganda, while the IRA border campaign of 1956–62, repressed by internment and other measures, produced an uneasy feeling that official anti-partition propaganda led enthusiasts into subversive organisations. This encouraged some individuals to argue that partition should be accepted *de facto*, a reaction more usually associated with the revulsion following the outbreak of the post-1969 Troubles and the possibility that Northern violence might destabilise the southern state.

Most accounts of Sean Lemass as Taoiseach are overwhelmingly favourable. The economic boom of the 1960s which followed his concerted drive to abandon protectionism and attract foreign investment, and which accompanied a wider move towards cultural openness was generally attributed to him. The economic slowdown of the 1970s and 1980s underpinned Lemass's image as maker of 'the best of decades', and most early accounts hail him as a uniquely visionary figure, the maker of modern Ireland. A partial exception is Bew and Patterson's

Lemass and the Making of Modern Ireland (1982), which emphasises the political constraints he faced and the extent to which his policies were influenced by the need to hold together the FF support coalition when the policies of the 1930s had clearly exhausted themselves.¹⁵² Although more recent accounts, reflecting the wider social and economic transformations of the 1990s, see Lemass as a transitional figure,¹⁵³ and while emphasising the social conservatism of the period, highlighted in the recently re-released 1968 documentary *Rocky Road to Dublin*, it remains the case that the earlier changes did prepare the way for later developments. The extension of the education system, the movement from economic protectionism to active encouragement of foreign investment and to eventual membership of the European community (privately regarded with suspicion by the aged de Valera as compromising traditional views of sovereignty), the dismantling of much of the apparatus of formal cultural protectionism: these were political decisions taken in the 1960s whose implications worked themselves out over time.

From the late 1970s an increasing body of 'instant history' has made its appearance, ranging from journalistic commentary on current affairs to studies of different aspects of public administration to the increasing body of historical publications made possible by cheaper publication techniques, the growth of higher education and the growing fluidity of party allegiances in a less static society. The period between Lemass and the early 1990s is now seen as a discrete interval which has passed from current politics into history and which marks the deliquescence and final displacement of the social, administrative and cultural arrangements and assumptions formed in the last decades of the Union and the early years of the new state. In mid-twentieth-century Ireland, the era of the landlords, the time of Parnell and Davitt, even O'Connell could be seen as recent history, and Catholic and nationalist popular culture emphasised the concept of an unchanging national tradition. Now as a body of formal historiography extends to cover the twentieth century, a generation grows up for whom even the period before the boom of the 1990s seems remote.

the northern ireland state

The central issue involved in the history of Northern Ireland is how far it can be said to have a distinct identity. Much nationalist historiography treated it simply as an ancien régime relic. The local élite of businessmen and landowners who dominated Stormont cabinets

were treated as an aristocracy whipping up bigotry and fear among the Protestant population and throwing them a few crumbs of patronage gained by discrimination against the Catholic minority. It was asserted that if Britain withdrew support and the regime collapsed, most Protestants would quickly realise that their fears were unfounded. The drawbacks of this interpretation and its disregard for the actually expressed views and self-definition of the Unionist population and its dismissal of the possibility that Unionists might have legitimate reasons for not wishing to join the southern state have led later commentators to underestimate the amount of truth it contained and downplay this contemporary plausibility. As with the history of the southern state, the history of interwar Northern Ireland and of the decades of the Troubles (with their vast bulk of 'instant history') overshadow the period between 1945 and the 1960s. Until the recent work of Henry Patterson¹⁵⁴ there was no overview of the post-war Stormont machine comparable to Patrick Buckland's *Factory of Grievances* (1979), and Brian Barton's biography of Lord Brookeborough breaks off at its subject's accession to the premiership in 1943. Recent years have, however, seen useful studies of the Nationalist Party of Northern Ireland by Eamon Phoenix, covering the formative years of the statelet, and Brendan Lynn.¹⁵⁵ As in the south, this is partly due to restrictions on archive access, and partly because the atmosphere of the immediate post-war decades, with its sense that the state had stabilised and that social and economic improvement driven by the expansion of the welfare state would slowly percolate society, is difficult to recapture when the sources of the Troubles are all too obvious in retrospect. A major step forward has been taken by Henry Patterson's use of the recently released Stormont records to show that the tension between hardcore reactionaries and semi-liberal modernisers pre-dated the premiership of Terence O'Neill, with whom this conflict is often associated. The hopes and fears associated with O'Neillism and the limitations and breakdown of the modernising project when faced with the civil rights movement's demand for 'British rights for British citizens', a demand less easily dismissed than the anti-partition campaign of the 1950s, which actually emphasised some of the same statistics about anti-Catholic discrimination, is best treated in Bob Purdie's classic *Politics in the Streets* (1990).¹⁵⁶

In the vast literature on the Troubles, the extremes are better documented than the centre ground. Apart from an early history by McAllister,¹⁵⁷ the moderate nationalist Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) is under-explored and much of what has been written about

it revolves around, or echoes, its dominant leader, John Hume.¹⁵⁸ Other perspectives are provided by the memoirs of Austin Currie and Paddy Devlin and the recent Chris Ryder biography of Gerry Fitt, drawing on Fitt's own recollections.¹⁵⁹ For a more critical view of Fitt see Michael Murphy *Gerry Fitt – A Political Chameleon* (2007). David Hume's study of the post-Stormont Ulster Unionist Party provides many insights into its problems.¹⁶⁰ The party never recovered from the loss of Stormont's administrative resources and the defection of its traditional governing stratum into political quiescence after O'Neill and Faulkner. Although it maintained numerical superiority over the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), partly because of renewed trust from the mid-1970s in British commitment to the Union, it was held together by a passivity reflecting a fear of disrupting the 'Unionist family'. The failure of this approach to assert any effective control over affairs was shown by the 1986 Anglo-Irish Agreement.¹⁶¹ The danger's to party unity involved in taking a proactive approach, are illustrated by the career of David Trimble, who has been the subject of two biographies¹⁶² as well as appearing in much material on the peace process. Graham Walker has recently provided the first narrative history of Ulster Unionism from the 1905 foundation of the UUC (Ulster Unionist Council) to the post-2004 ascendancy of the DUP.¹⁶³ The major studies of the DUP by Steve Bruce and Pollak and Moloney date from the 1980s and, like the party itself, are overshadowed by the figure of Ian Paisley and the role of Evangelical Protestantism in underpinning the 'no surrender' ethos.¹⁶⁴ Less has been written on the party in the late 1990s and early 2000s, perhaps because of the distaste of most observers for the combination of bigotry and opportunism culminating in that party's arrangement with Sinn Féin in the 2006 St. Andrews Agreement.¹⁶⁵ This gap has been filled to some extent by Ed Moloney, *Paisley: From Demagogue to Democrat?* (2008) with its discussion of the role of Peter Robinson in creating an effective party machine from an initially unsophisticated fundamentalist and populist membership, and its startling conclusion that in displacing the Ulster Unionists the DUP has come to resemble them. The study of post-Civil War Sinn Féin and the IRA was pioneered by J. Bowyer Bell in the 1960s and his publications remain a valuable resource.¹⁶⁶ The recent history of these organisations remains less accessible despite extensive post-cease-fire revelations; much relevant literature derives from adherents following a party line or angry dissidents with axes to grind. These texts are drawn on in such works as those of Ed Moloney and Rogelio Alonso.¹⁶⁷ Loyalist paramilitarism, though the subject of some academic works, such as those of Sarah Nelson and Steve Bruce,¹⁶⁸ has attracted less

attention, possibly because its reactive and semi-criminal nature makes it less rewarding as a subject. Students can benefit by such competent journalistic accounts as the histories of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and Ulster Defence Association (UDA) by Cusack and MacDonald.¹⁶⁹

the death of irish history?

Ireland in the twenty-first century is remarkably different from the traditional image of the island. The Northern Ireland Troubles have ended and a devolutionary structure has stabilised through a pact of extremes. The Northern parties increasingly seem disconnected from a wider public, and in the south, as late as the socio-economic crises of the 1980s, parliamentary politics were highly polarised between Charles Haughey's FF and Garrett Fitzgerald's Fine Gael-Labour alliance, each seen by its supporters as representing Ireland's salvation and by its opponents as a threat to all that was best in the nation. Now the populist catch-all parties which dominate the state engage in Continental-style coalition politics increasingly focussed on administrative competence, having adapted their ethos to an extent which their founders would scarcely recognise. The small and highly denominationalised professional and managerial classes of the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries have become much more numerous, more professionalised and predominantly secular. Hidden traumas have come to light as the struggle of cultural protectionists against Anglo-American popular culture and its attendant attitudes ends in defeat, itself part of a wider global phenomenon of the breakdown of cultural deference. Rural Ireland is a shrinking minority; the suburban belt of a badly planned Dublin reaches towards the Shannon, the Slaney and Carlingford Lough. From being a nation of emigrants, the recurrence of emigration in the 1980s after its cessation in the 1960s was a major trauma of that decade, Ireland now attracts an increasing flow of immigrants who raise further questions about the Irish experience.¹⁷⁰

Alvin Jackson ends his survey of modern Irish history by asking whether the secularisation and economic takeoff of the southern state and the conclusion of the Northern Troubles mark the end of Irish history as commonly understood.¹⁷¹ Tom Garvin argues that while vestigial political violence may continue, the basic issues that drove the national conflict are solved and Irish politics have assimilated to the developed world as a whole.¹⁷² Brian Girvin has presented Irish history as a progression from failed Union with Britain to a European Union that has overseen the politico-economic settlement its precursors sought in vain.¹⁷³ Others point to the problems of affluence, the

growth of relative inequality, the strains on social services and the persistence of paramilitary and criminal underworlds as proof that Ireland remains a contested site. New departures in history writing, as evidenced by Diarmuid Ferriter's *The Transformation of Ireland 1900–2000* (2005), show that other areas of Irish history, families, social justice, women and children, previously neglected by scholars, are now ripe for investigation and the development of a fresh, more inclusive historical methodology. It may be premature to suggest that Irish political history has come to an end and been replaced by administration, or that Irish exceptionalism has been dissolved in global and worldwide trends, but it will always be possible to learn much about politics, governance and social life from studying the conflicts and dilemmas of the Irish past.

notes

1. Seamus Deane, *Civilians and Barbarians* (Derry, Field Day, 1983).
2. John Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991).
3. The word 'revisionism' first gained currency as a term of abuse by orthodox Marxists from about 1885 to denigrate the work of Marxist writer Edward Bernstein who extensively used the writings of Marx and Engels to argue for change through evolution rather than revolution.
4. For a critical overview see Kevin Whelan, 'The Revisionist Debate in Ireland', *Boundary 2*, 31.1 (New York, Duke University Press, 2004), pp. 179–205.
5. The Kilmichael Ambush occurred on November 28, 1920 at Kilmichael Co. Cork, when 36 local IRA men, under the command of Tom Barry, ambushed and killed 17 members of the Auxiliary Division of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC).
6. Peter Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916–23* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999); Meda Ryan, *Tom Barry: IRA Freedom Fighter* (Cork, Mercier Press, 2003).
7. For a more sophisticated critique of Hart see John Borgonovo, *Spies, Informers and the 'Anti-Sinn Féin Society': The Intelligence War in Cork City, 1920–21* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2007); John Borgonovo (ed.) *Florence and Josephine O'Donoghue's War of Independence: A Destiny that Shapes our Ends* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2006).
8. Brendan Bradshaw, 'Nationalism and Historical Scholarship in Ireland', *Irish Historical Scholarship*, vol. 26, no. 104 (November 1989), pp. 329–51. For the wider debate sparked off by this essay, see Ciaran Brady (ed.) *Interpreting Irish History: the Debate on Irish Revisionism 1938–94* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1994); D. G. Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds) *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy* (London, Routledge, 1996).
9. Irish classicist and polymathic scholar, he was Professor of Ancient History and later Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Among his works were *History of Classical Greek Literature* (4th edn, 1903 seq.); *Social Life in Greece from*

Homer to Menander (4th edn, 1903); *The Silver Age of the Greek World* (1906); *The Empire of the Ptolemies* (1896); *Greek Life and Thought from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (2nd edn, 1896); *The Greek World under Roman Sway from Polybius to Plutarch* (1890).

10. Born in North Tipperary in 1871 into a farming family with strong nationalist political involvement, he was first Professor of Education at University College Dublin and argued that state action could restore the Irish language as the national vernacular despite his own ignorance of the language. His authoritarian views on education and society reflected Irish Catholic attitudes of the period.
11. W. B. Stanford, *Mahaffy: Biography of an Anglo-Irishman* (London, Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1971); E. Brian Titley, *Church, State and the Control of Education in Ireland 1900–1944* (Dublin & Toronto, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983).
12. Evi Gkotsaris, *Trials of Irish History: Genesis and Evaluation of a Reappraisal* (London, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006).
13. Cf. Desmond Fennell, *The Revision of Irish Nationalism* (Dublin, Open Air, 1989).
14. Brian P. Murphy, *Patrick Pearse and the Lost Republican Ideal* (Dublin, J. Duffy & Co., 1991), *The Origins and Organisation of British Propaganda in Ireland* (Millstreet, *Aubane Historical Society*, Co. Cork, 2006).
15. There were two complementary Acts that brought this union into effect – one passed through the parliament at Westminster, and the other was passed by the Dublin parliament. The phrase 'the Act of Union 1800' refers to this process, sometimes it is referred to as the Act of Union 1801 as it came into effect at the start of that year.
16. Ernest Gellner, 1925–95, British philosopher, anthropologist and sociologist and self-described Enlightenment rationalist fundamentalist. His works include *Words and Things* (1959), *Thought and Change* (1964), *Saints of the Atlas* (1969) and *Plough, Sword and Book* (1988).
17. James Lydon, *The Making of Ireland: From Ancient Times to the Present* (London, Routledge, 1998); for a statement of the 'modernist' view see Richard English, *Irish Freedom: A History of Nationalism in Ireland* (London, Macmillan, 2007). D. G. Boyce's *Nationalism in Ireland* (London, Routledge, 1982) is an older, less theoretically driven survey.
18. Toby Barnard, *The Kingdom of Ireland 1641–1760* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); *A New Anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants, 1649–1771* (Yale, Yale University Press, 2004); David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1660–1840* (Cork, Cork University Press, 2005).
19. Sean Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660–1760* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1992).
20. A. P. W. Malcolmson, *Archbishop Charles Agar: Churchmanship and Politics in Ireland, 1760–1810* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2002); *Nathaniel Clements: Government and the Governing Elite in Ireland, 1725–75* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2005).
21. L. M. Cullen, *The Hidden Ireland: Reassessment of a Concept* (Dublin, Lilliput Press, 1989).
22. Breandan Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghearr: na Stiobhartaigh agus an t-Aois Leinn, 1603–1788* (Dublin, An Clóchomhar, 1996).

23. Samuel Clark and James S. Donnelly Jr., *Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest, 1780–1914* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988).
24. ‘Grattan’s parliament’ was named after Henry Grattan (1746–1820) who with the support of the popular militia, the Irish Volunteers, declared the independence of the Irish Parliament on 16 April 1782. Detailed outlines of the Patriot tradition can be found in such works as Francis Godwin James’s *Ireland in the Empire, 1688–1770: A History of Ireland from the Williamite Wars to the Eve of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1973); and the structure of eighteenth century politics is concisely described by J. L. McCracken in his reliable overview, *The Irish Parliament in the Eighteenth Century* (Dundalk, Dundalgan Press, 1971).
25. W. M. Thackeray, *Barry Lyndon* (London: Futura Publications, 1974); D. P. Moran, *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland* (Dublin, 1905; University College Dublin Press edition, with introduction by Patrick Maume, 2006); J. J. Lee in Brian Farrell (ed.) *The Irish Parliamentary Tradition* (New York, Barnes and Noble, 1973).
26. Tom Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1992).
27. Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin Civic Politics and Irish Protestant Patriotism, 1660–1840* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997).
28. Gerard O’Brien, *Anglo-Irish Politics in the Age of Grattan and Pitt* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1988).
29. A. P. W. Malcolmson, *John Foster: the Politics of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978).
30. Fianna Fáil was constituted in May 1926, and led by Eamon de Valera. Members of Fianna Fáil at first refused to be seated in the Dáil but finally entered in 1927. In 1932 Fianna Fáil gained 48 per cent of the seats in the Dáil, and de Valera became President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State and Minister for External Affairs. Since then the party has remained the largest party in Ireland and is rarely out of office.
31. L. M. Cullen, *The Emergence of Modern Ireland, 1600–1900* (London, Batsford Academic, 1981). This last point was anticipated by James Connolly.
32. W. E. H. Lecky, *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, University of Chicago Press, 1972, first published (1878–90); for Grattan’s importance as role model for Lecky see Donal McCartney, *W.E.H. Lecky: Historian and Politician* (Dublin, Lilliput Press, 1999). The most recent example of the tradition of Grattan biography deriving through Lecky from the official life by Henry Grattan Jr. is R. B. MacDowell’s *Grattan* (Dublin, Lilliput Press, 2001).
33. Daniel Mansergh, *Grattan’s Failure: Parliamentary Opposition and the People in Ireland, 1779–1800* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2005).
34. Young Ireland was a mid-nineteenth-century political, cultural and social movement, which was to revolutionise the use of Irish nationalism as a political force in Irish society. In 1848 its leader William Smith O’Brien led a shambolic rebellion which failed to have any real impact – however, the writings of many of the Young Irelanders had far reaching effects on nineteenth and twentieth century Irish thinkers and revolutionaries.
35. Luke Cullen, a Carmelite based at Clondalkin in Dublin, along with R. R. Madden, collected the reminiscences of old rebels in Wexford and Wicklow in the early nineteenth century.

36. Thomas Bartlett, David Dickson, Daire Keogh, and Kevin Whelan (eds) *1798: A Bicentennial Perspective* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2003) contains (among much else) a survey of the historiography.
37. Much of the argument and more recent thinking on the 1798 Rebellion can be found in the collection of essays by Kevin Whelan, L. M. Cullen, Thomas Graham, Anne Kinsella, Thomas Bartlett and Daniel Gahan in Daire Keogh and N. Nicholas Furlong (eds), *The Mighty Wave: The 1798 Rebellion in Wexford* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1996).
38. Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty* (Cork University Press, 1996).
39. Nancy J. Curtin, *The United Irishmen; Popular Politics in Ulster and Dublin 1791–98* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1994).
40. Tom Dunne, *Rebellions: Memoir, Memory and 1798* (Dublin, Lilliput Press, 2004).
41. L. M. Cullen, *The Emergence of Modern Ireland* (New York, Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1981); various chapters in David Dickson and Hugh Gough (eds) *Ireland and the French Revolution* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1990) and in Whelan (ed.) *Wexford: History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1987).
42. William Cooke Taylor, *History of the Civil Wars of Ireland* (London, 1832); *ibid. Memoir of Daniel O'Connell* (University College Dublin, Press reprint, ed. Patrick Maume, 2004).
43. G. C. Bolton, *The Passing of the Irish Act of Union: A Study in Parliamentary Politics* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1966); Patrick Geoghegan, *The Act of Union: A Study in High Politics 1798–1801* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 2001); David Wilkinson, *The Duke of Portland: Politics and Party in the Age of George III* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
44. *Oxford DNB* entry 'R. Barry O'Brien', by Patrick Maume.
45. Thomas MacKnight *Ulster as it is* (2 vols, London, 1896).
46. Other worthwhile biographical studies of O'Connell, include, most notably Fergus O'Ferrall's *Daniel O'Connell* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1981.); C. Chenevix Trench, *The Great Dan: a Biography of Daniel O'Connell* (London : Cape, 1984).
47. Irene Whelan, *The Bible War in Ireland: The 'Second Reformation' and the Polarisation of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800–1840* (Dublin, Lilliput Press, 2005).
48. Clongowes Wood College is a private secondary boarding school for boys in Co. Kildare run by the Society of Jesus (The Jesuits) since 1814.
49. Some reflections on later manifestations of the phenomenon may be found in Patrick Maume, *The Long Gestation: Nationalist Political Life 1891–1918* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1999); Lawrence MacBride, *The Greening of Dublin Castle: The Transformation of Bureaucratic and Judicial Personnel in Ireland 1892–1922* (Dublin/Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1991).
50. Charles Gavan Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres* (London, 1898); A. M. Sullivan, *New Ireland* (London, 1877).
51. 'Seacranaidhe' [Frank Ryan] *Irish Emancipation* (Dublin, 1929).
52. MacDonagh had previously published this biography in two volumes, *The Hereditary Bondsman: Daniel O'Connell 1775–1829* (London, Weidenfeld and

- Nicolson, 1988) and *The Emancipist: Daniel O'Connell 1830–47* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989).
53. Stewart Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland and Scotland 1801–46* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002); Wayne E. Hall, *Dialogues in the Margin: A Study of the Dublin University Magazine* (Washington, Colin Smythe Ltd., 2000). For an example of this discourse see the speeches of Rev. Henry Cooke in William McComb, *The Repealer Repulsed* (1841; 2003 University of Dublin Press reprint, ed. Patrick Maume).
 54. Gary Owens in Peter Jupp and Eoin Magennis (eds) *Crowds in Ireland c. 1720–1920* (London, Macmillan Press, 2000).
 55. The Young Ireland Movement grew out of Daniel O'Connell's Repeal movement and was heavily influenced by the ideas expressed by Thomas Davis, Charles Gavan Duffy and others writing in the *Nation* newspaper – which advocated the Repeal of the Act of Union. The Young Ireland group split with the Repeal Association in 1845 due to tensions over O'Connell's attempt to promote his son John O'Connell as his successor and Young Ireland's refusal to renounce threats of physical force in principle as well as in practice. In 1848 a group of Young Irelanders launched an ill-prepared and unsuccessful rising. Most of the leaders were arrested, tried, and transported to Australia.
 56. 'The Nation' was first published on 15 October 1842. The founders were Charles Gavan Duffy, Thomas Osborne Davis and John Blake Dillon.
 57. Marie-Louise Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism: The Irish Provincial Press, 1850–92* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999).
 58. Mark O'Brien, *De Valera, Fianna Fáil, and the Irish Press: The Truth in the News?* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2002).
 59. Richard Davis, *The Young Ireland Movement* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1987); Thomas Kenneally, *The Great Shame* (New York, Vintage, 1998).
 60. The 1848 Rebellion, which lasted a week, was led by Young Irelander, William Smith O'Brien. All of the action took place in Co. Tipperary. The failure to capture a party of police barricaded in widow McCormack's house near Ballingarry marked the effective end of the revolt. O'Brien and three leading colleagues were arrested. Their death sentences were commuted to transportation to Australia.
 61. Melissa Fegan, *Literature and the Irish Famine 1845–1919* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2002).
 62. John Mitchel, *The Last Conquest of Ireland – Perhaps* (University of Dublin Press reprint, 2005); Christopher Morash, *Writing the Irish Famine* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995). (For a similar view of the Land War in East Galway as a continuation of the Battle of Aughrim, which has never ended and can still therefore be won, see Bishop Duggan of Clonfert recorded in W. S. Blunt, *The Land War in Ireland* [London, 1912].)
 63. Isaac Butt (1813–79), born in Donegal, son of a Protestant Rector. He trained as a barrister and became a member of both the Irish and English bar. By 1873 Butt turned the Home Government Association, which he founded, into a political party calling it the Irish Home Rule Party. However by 1877 his influence on the party was waning and he had effectively been replaced as leader by Charles Stewart Parnell. He died in 1879.

64. R. Dudley Edwards and T. Desmond Williams, *The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History 1845–52* (reprinted Dublin, Lilliput Press, 1999 with a historiographical introduction by Cormac O Grada.)
65. Cormac O Grada, *Black '47 and Beyond: The Great Irish Famine in History, Economy, and Memory* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2000).
66. Robin Haines, *Charles Trevelyan and the Great Irish Famine* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2004).
67. Christine Kinealy, *This Great Calamity: The Irish Famine 1845–52* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1994); *The Great Irish Famine; Impact, Ideology and Rebellion* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).
68. J. H. Whyte *The Independent Irish Party 1850–9* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1958).
69. The Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) grew out of the Fenian movement which was founded in the 1850s, in New York, by James Stephens in Ireland and John O'Mahony. Their aim was to overthrow British rule in Ireland and to create an Irish Republic.
70. Leon O Broin, *Revolutionary Underground* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1976).
71. R. V. Comerford, *The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and Society, 1848–82* (Dublin, Wolfhound, 1985).
72. John Newsinger, *Fenianism in Mid-Victorian Britain* (London, Pluto Press, 1994).
73. Owen McGee, *The Irish Republican Brotherhood: From the Land League to Sinn Féin* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2006).
74. Paul Bew, *Land and the National Question* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1978). The nexus behind the early Land League is best reflected in the career of Michael Davitt – T. W. Moody, *Davitt and Irish Revolution 1846–1882* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1984). Laurence Marley, *Michael Davitt: Freelance Radical and Frondeur* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2007).
75. The Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) was formed in 1882. It had originated in the Home Government Association which was established in 1870 by Isaac Butt. In the 1880s, the IPP developed into a powerful and successful party under Parnell's leadership. He created a highly popularist, centralised, disciplined and modern party. In 1890–1, the IPP split after Parnell's fall, and never fully recovered its unity or prestige. The end came when the IPP was all but obliterated by Sinn Féin in the 1918 election.
76. Charles Stewart Parnell, born in Avondale, Co. Wicklow in 1846 into a Protestant, landowning aristocratic family. In 1875 he was elected MP for Co. Meath. By 1879 he was leader of the IPP at Westminster. He was elected the first President of the Land League at a meeting in the Imperial Hotel, Dublin, on 21 October 1879. In 1890 he was cited in a divorce between Katherine O'Shea and her husband – he later married Katherine. After this, many took the view that he was no longer a fit person to lead the IPP and in December 1890 the IPP split into 'Parnellite' and 'anti-Parnellite' factions. Parnell was hurt politically and personally; the fight to survive in politics took its toll and he died in October 1891. His funeral to Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, 11 October, was attended by nearly 250,000 people.
77. J. L. Hammond, *Gladstone and the Irish Nation* (London, Cass, 1938); for a rebuttal which emphasises short-term political calculation see A. B. Cooke

- & John Vincent, *The Governing Passion: Cabinet Government and Party Politics in Britain, 1885–86* (Brighton, Harvester Press, 1974).
78. Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Parnell and his party, 1880–90* (London, Clarendon Press, 1957).
 79. F. S. L. Lyons, *The Fall of Parnell* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960); *John Dillon* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), *Ireland Since the Famine* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), *Charles Stewart Parnell* (London, Gill & Macmillan, 1977); Alan O'Day, 'F. S. L. Lyons: Historian of Modern Ireland', in Walter L. Arnstein (ed.) *Recent Historians of Great Britain* (Iowa State University Press, 1990), pp. 173–92.
 80. Although Larkin's work expanded to cover the whole nineteenth century, it began with the Land League and Parnellite era; *The Roman Catholic Church and the Creation of the Modern Irish State 1878–1886* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1975); *The Roman Catholic Church and the Plan of Campaign in Ireland 1886–1888* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1978); *The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland and the Fall of Parnell 1888–91* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1979).
 81. F. S. L. Lyons, *The Irish Parliamentary Party 1890–1910* (London, Faber, 1951).
 82. The 'Ranch War' 1904–9 witnessed particularly high rates of agrarian conflict in the Irish countryside.
 83. Alan O'Day, *The English Face of Irish Nationalism: Parnellite Involvement in British Politics 1880–86* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1977); *Parnell and the first Home Rule Episode* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1986); *Irish Home Rule 1867–1921* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1998); Alan O'Day and George Boyce (eds) *Parnell in Perspective* (London, Routledge, 1991); *Irish Nationalism 1867–1922* (London, Routledge, 1999); *Ireland in Transition 1879–1922* (London, Routledge, 2004); *The Ulster Crisis 1885–1922* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
 84. Paul Bew, *Conflict and Conciliation: Parnellites and Radical Agrarians, 1890–1910* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1987); *Ideology and the Irish Question* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997); *Parnell* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1980).
 85. Frank Callanan, *The Parnell Split* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1993); T. M. Healy (Cork, Cork University Press, 1996).
 86. Stephen Gwynn, *John Redmond's Last Years* (1919, reissued London, Hard Press, 2006); Denis Gwynn, *John Redmond* (London, Harrap, 1932). See also Paul Bew, *John Redmond* (Dundalk, Dundalgan Press, 1996) and John Finan, *John Redmond and Irish Unity* (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 2004). Dermot Meleady, *Redmond: The Parnellite* (Cork, Cork University Press, 2007).
 87. David Wheatley, *Nationalism and the Irish Party: Provincial Ireland 1910–1916* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005); Fergus Campbell, *Land and Revolution: Nationalist Politics in the West of Ireland 1891–1921* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005).
 88. Brian Farrell (ed.) *The Irish Parliamentary tradition* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1973); Alan J. Ward, *The Irish Constitutional Tradition: Responsible Government and Modern Ireland, 1782–1992* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1994).
 89. *Recollections* (London, 1905); *Evening Memories* (Dublin, 1920); *An Olive Branch in Ireland and its History* (London, 1910); and *The Irish Revolution and How it Came About* (Dublin, 1923).

90. J. V. O'Brien, *William O'Brien and the Course of Irish Politics* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1976); Sally Warwick-Haller, *William O'Brien and the Irish Land War* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1990).
91. Philip Bull, *Land, Politics and Nationalism: A Study of the Irish Land Question* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1998).
92. Alan Blackstock, *Loyalism in Ireland 1789–1829* (London, Boydell & Brewer, 2007); Andrew Shields, *The Irish Conservative Party 1852–1868* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2007).
93. Sir Horace Plunkett (1854–1932), son of Lord Dunsany, of Dunsany Castle, Dunshaughlin, County Meath. In 1891, he was appointed a member of the Congested Districts Board and in 1892 was elected the Unionist MP for South County Dublin. He was a pioneer of agricultural co-operation. He developed agricultural policy in Ireland in his role as the first President of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (1894). He helped establish Ireland's first co-operative at Doneraile, Cork and opened the first creamery in Drumcollogher, Limerick. He was involved with the Home Rule movement, and later founded the Irish Dominion League, whose aim was to have Ireland united and within the commonwealth. In 1922 he was made a Senator of the new Irish Free State. In 1923 his house was burned down during the Civil War and he subsequently moved to England, where he died in 1932.
94. Andrew Gailey, *Ireland and the Death of Kindness: The Experience of Constructive Unionism 1890–1905* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1987).
95. Patrick Buckland, *Irish Unionism: The Anglo-Irish and the New Ireland* (Dublin Gill and Macmillan, 1972); R. B. McDowell, *Crisis and Decline: The Fate of the Southern Unionists* (Dublin, Lilliput Press, 1997).
96. Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Passion and Cunning: Essays on Nationalism, Terrorism & Revolution* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1988).
97. James Loughlin, *Gladstone, Home Rule and the Ulster Question 1882–93* (Dublin, Humanities Press International, 1987), *Ulster Unionism and British national Identity since 1885* (London, Pinter, 1995).
98. Brian Walker *Ulster Politics: The Formative Years* (Belfast, Ulster Historical Foundation, 1989), Paul Bew *Ideology and the Irish Question: Ulster Unionism and Irish Nationalism 1912–16* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998).
99. Edward Marjoribanks and Ian Colvin, *The Life of Lord Carson* (London, Victor Gollancz, 1932–6); A. T. Q. Stewart, *The Ulster Crisis* (London, Faber and Faber, 1969), Patrick Buckland, *Ulster Unionism and the Origins of Northern Ireland* (London, Barnes and Noble, 1972).
100. Alvin Jackson, *The Ulster Party* (Oxford, Oxford Historical Monographs, 1989); *Sir Edward Carson* (Dundalk, Dundalgan Press (W. Tempest) Ltd, 1993); *Colonel Edward Saunderson: Land and Loyalty in Victorian Ireland* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995); *Ireland 1798–1998* (London, Blackwell, 1999); *Home Rule: An Irish History* (London, Weidenfeld, 2003).
101. Cliona Murphy, *The Women's Suffrage Movement and Irish Society in the Early Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1989); Margaret Ward, *Hanna Sheehy Skeffington: Suffragette and Sinn Féiner* (Cork, Attic Press, 1996).
102. R. F. Foster, W. B. Yeats, *A Life: Vol. 1, The Apprentice Mage* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997); *Vol. 2, The Archpoet* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003).

103. Richard P. Davis, *Arthur Griffith and Non-Violent Sinn Féin* (Dublin, Anvil Books, 1974). See also Virginia Glandon, *Arthur Griffith and the Advanced Nationalist Press 1900–22* (New York, Lang, 1985) which incorporates Griffith within an useful overview of the political journalism of the period.
104. Arthur Griffith (1872–1922), journalist and politician; He was a founding member of the Celtic Literary Society in 1893 and was a member of the IRB, Gaelic League, and a founder of Cumann na nGaedheal, a cultural and educational association. In 1904 he published a pamphlet on the 1848 Hungarian Revolution entitled *The Resurrection of Hungary: A Parallel for Ireland* in which he set out his ideas on Irish independence under a dual monarchy, like that of Austria–Hungary. In 1905 he founded Sinn Féin.
105. Griffith was elected as Sinn Féin MP for East Cavan in the 1918 general election, but, following his own recommended policy of abstentionism, he joined other Sinn Féin MP's who assembled as Dáil Eireann in Dublin in 1919, proclaimed themselves the parliament of Ireland. Eamon de Valera was elected president of the new republic and Griffith was vice-president. Griffith led the Irish delegation in London that negotiated the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 6 December 1921 which established the Irish Free State as a self-governing dominion within the British Commonwealth. Following de Valera's rejection of the treaty and his resignation from Dáil Eireann, Griffith was elected President of the Dáil. He died in 1922.
106. Padraic Colum, *Arthur Griffith* (Dublin, Browne & Nolan, 1959).
107. Brian Maye, *Arthur Griffith* (Dublin, Griffith College Publications, 1997).
108. Patrick Maume, 'Young Ireland, Arthur Griffith and Republican Ideology: The Question of Continuity', *Éire-Ireland*, XXXIV: 2, Summer 1999, pp. 155–74.
109. Patrick Pearse was born in Dublin in 1879. He joined the Gaelic League in 1895 and became editor of its paper, *An Claidheamh Soluis* ('sword of light'). He founded a bilingual school for boys, St. Enda's, Rathfarnham in 1908. He was a supporter of physical force republicanism; he joined the Irish Volunteers in 1913 and was elected Director of Organisation. In 1915 he joined the IRB and led the breakaway Volunteers who resisted conscription to the British Army on the outbreak of World War I. He played an active role in planning the Rising of 1916 and was appointed Commandant-General of the Army of the Irish Republic and President of the Provisional Government. During Easter Week 1916 he served in the General Post Office (GPO) Dublin. On 29 April 1916 he surrendered unconditionally on behalf of the Volunteers to Brigadier-General W. H. M. Lowe in Parnell Street. He was tried by court martial and was executed by firing squad in Kilmainham Jail on the 3 May 1916.
110. Louis Le Roux, *Patrick Pearse* (Dublin, Talbot Press, 1932). The writings of Desmond Ryan, Pearse's ex-pupil, though unreferenced are somewhat more detached and draw on personal knowledge.
111. Ruth Dudley Edwards, *Patrick Pearse: The Triumph of Failure* (London, Gollancz, 1977). Pearse's letters and educational writings have been edited by Seamus Ó Buachalla: other recent treatments include Sean Farrell Moran *Patrick Pearse and the Politics of Redemption* (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1996) and Elaine Sisson, *Pearse's Patriots* (Cork, 2005).

112. F. J. Byrne and F. X. Martin (eds) *The Scholar Revolutionary: Eoin MacNeill (1867–1945) and the Making of the New Ireland* (Shannon, Irish university Press, 1973); Michael Tierney, *Eoin MacNeil: Scholar and Man of Action*, ed. F. X. Martin (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981). For a hostile republican view of Tierney's promotion of a MacNeill cult, see Padraig O Snodaigh, *Two Godfathers of Revisionism: 1916 in the revisionist canon* (Dublin, Fulcrum Press, 1991).
113. The literature on Connolly is too extensive to detail here, and there is no standard edition of his works; for some introductory titles see the discussion in the section on Labour later in this essay.
114. Kathleen Clarke, *Revolutionary Woman: Kathleen Clarke 1878–1972, an autobiography* (Dublin, O'Brien, 1991).
115. Michael Collins, (1890–1922) took part in the Rising of 1916, was Director of Intelligence for the IRA during the War of Independence, Minister for Finance in the First Dáil of 1919 and member of the Irish delegation during the Anglo-Irish Treaty negotiations, both as Chairman of the Provisional Government and Commander-in-Chief of the National Army. He was shot and killed in August 1922, during the Civil War.
116. Piaras Beaslai, *Michael Collins and the Making of the New Ireland* (Dublin, G. G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1926); Frank O'Connor, *The Big Fellow; A Life of Michael Collins* (London, Nelson, 1937); Tim Pat Coogan, *Michael Collins: A Biography* (London, Hutchinson, 1990). For an account of Collins that focuses on his administrative activities and emphasises documentation over oral accounts – an approach which can be questioned in dealing with a clandestine revolutionary movement – see Peter Hart, *Mick: The Making of Michael Collins* (London, Picador, 2005). This is complemented – indeed, outclassed – by David Fitzpatrick's *Harry Boland's Irish Revolution 1887–1922* (Cork, Cork University Press, 2002) which describes how its subject sustained the IRA campaign through a network of personal and organisational contacts.
117. Charles Townshend, *The British Military Campaign in Ireland* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978). Townshend's *Political Violence in Ireland: Government and Resistance since 1848* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1984) is also indispensable for any student of the subject.
118. Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Féin Party 1916–23* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999).
119. Arthur Mitchell, *Revolutionary Government in Ireland: Dáil Eireann 1919–21* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1994).
120. Peter Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies; Joost Augusteijn, From Public Defiance to Guerrilla Warfare: The Experience of Ordinary Volunteers in the Irish War of Independence, 1916–1921* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1996).
121. Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 2002). This is modelled on the author's classic *Green against Green: The Irish Civil War* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1988).
122. Cornelius O'Leary, *Irish Elections 1918–77: Parties, Voters and Proportional Representation* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1979).
123. James Hogan, *Election and Representation* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1945); for Hogan see Donncha O Corrain (ed.) *James Hogan (1898–1963) Revolutionary, Historian and Political Scientist* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2000).

124. Mary Daly, *The Buffer State: The Historical Roots of the Department of Local Government* (Dublin, Institute of Public Administration, 1997).
125. Donal O'Sullivan, *The Irish Free State and its Senate: A Study in Contemporary Politics* (London, Faber, 1940); Terence de Vere White, *Kevin O'Higgins* (London, Methuen, 1948).
126. Tom Garvin, *1922: The Birth of Irish Democracy* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1996).
127. Bill Kissane, *Explaining Irish Democracy* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press 2002).
128. Bill Kissane, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005).
129. John M. Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution 1921–36: Treatyite Politics and Settlement in Independent Ireland* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1999).
130. Founded in 1923, Cumann na nGaedheal was formed from the pro-Treaty wing of Sinn Féin and formed the government of the new Irish Free State. It continued in power until 1932 when it was defeated at a general election by Fianna Fáil. It merged with the Centre Party and the National Guard to form Fine Gael in 1933.
131. The Irish Army Comrades' Association (for ex members of the Irish Free State Army) was established in 1932, and became popularly [known] as the Blueshirts. In 1933 General Eoin O'Duffy became their leader; he remodeled the organisation along lines influenced by fascist organisation in Italy and Germany. The members adopted a uniform of blue shirts and were renamed the National Guard. They had a specifically Catholic ideology based on papal social teaching, though there were some Protestant Blueshirts; anti-Semitism was present in the movement though its extent is debated. Later in 1933, the National Guard joined with Cumann Na nGaedheal and the National Centre Party to form Fine Gael.
132. This was a trade war between the Irish Free State and Britain, which lasted from 1933 until 1938. It involved the refusal of the Irish state to pay 'land annuities' to Britain; this led to retaliatory imposition by the UK of 20 per cent import duty on Irish agricultural products. The Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement of 1938 finally settled the land annuities question, but the Economic war had damaged the Irish economy.
133. Maurice Manning, *The Blueshirts* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1971).
134. Michael Cronin, *The Blueshirts and Irish Politics* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1997).
135. Fearghal McGarry, *Eoin O'Duffy: A Self-Made Hero* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005); *Irish Politics and the Spanish Civil War* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1999).
136. Eamon de Valera (1882–1985), born in New York but brought up in Limerick. In 1908 he joined the Gaelic League, and in 1913 he was in the Irish Volunteers. During the Rising of 1916 commanded the 3rd Battalion at Boland's Mill. In 1917 he was elected MP for East Clare and became president of both Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers. He rejected the Anglo-Irish treaty and was on the Republican side during the Irish Civil War. He founded Fianna Fáil in 1926, and in 1932 was President of the Irish Free State when FF came to power. He remained as leader of Fianna Fáil until 1959. He then served two terms as President of the Irish Republic, 1959–73. He died in 1975.

137. T. P. O'Neill and Lord Longford, *Eamon de Valera* (London, Hutchinson, 1971). This line was anticipated by several official biographies of de Valera published during their subject's career and by Dorothy Macardle, *The Irish Republic: A Documented Chronicle of the Anglo-Irish Conflict and the Partitioning of Ireland, with a Detailed Account of the Period 1916–1923* (London, V. Gollancz, 1937) which has been described as the ur-text of 'the Stalinist school of Fianna Fáil historiography'. A late example of this reverential treatment is Terry de Valera, *A Memoir* (Dublin, Currach Press, 2004).
138. T. P. Coogan, *Eamon de Valera: Long Fellow, Long Shadow* (London, Arrow Books Ltd; new edition, 1995). Coogan takes over and expands suggestions about de Valera's psychological makeup deriving from Owen Dudley Edwards, *Eamon de Valera* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1987).
139. Sean Lemass (1899–1971) was appointed Minister for Industry and Commerce when Fianna Fáil entered government in 1932. In 1945, de Valera nominated him as Tánaiste, and he succeeded him as Taoiseach in 1959. He has been regarded as the economic architect of the modern Irish state.
140. Dick Walsh, *The Party: Inside Fianna Fáil* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1986).
141. Richard Dunphy, *The Making of Fianna Fáil Power in Ireland 1923–48* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995).
142. Brian Girvin, *Between Two Worlds: Politics and Economy in Independent Ireland* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1998); the author subsequently reassessed the mildly favourable reassessment of 'infant industry' protectionism offered here; Mary Daly, *Industrial Development and Irish National Identity 1922–39* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1992); Patrick Maume, *D. P. Moran* (Dundalk, Historical Association of Ireland, 1995) discusses the waverings of a protectionist pro-treatyite between Fianna Fáil and Cumann na nGaedheal.
143. Robert Fisk, *In Time of War: Ulster and the Price of Neutrality, 1939–45* (London, André Deutsch, 1985).
144. Donal O'Driscóil, *Censorship in Ireland: Neutrality, Politics and Society 1939–45* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1996). Clair Wills, *That Neutral Island: A Cultural History of Ireland During the Second World War* (London, Harvard University Press, 2007) develops these themes while ultimately maintaining that neutrality was inevitable.
145. Brian Girvin, *The Emergency: Neutral Ireland 1939–45* (London, Macmillan, 2006).
146. T. F. O'Higgins, *A Double Life* (Dublin, Townhouse, 1996).
147. J. J. Lee, *Ireland 1912–85: Politics and Society* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986).
148. Tom Garvin, *Preventing the Future: Why Was Ireland so Poor for so Long?* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 2004). Mary Daly, *The Slow Failure: Population Decline and Independent Ireland* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2006) takes a similar approach in describing how policymakers were constrained in recognising new social trends by ideological commitment to Catholic social theory and ruralism.
149. Noel Browne, *Against the Tide* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1986); John Horgan, *Noel Browne: Passionate Outsider* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 2000); Maurice Manning, *James Dillon: A Biography* (Dublin, Wolfhound Press, 1999).
150. David McCullagh, *A Makeshift Majority: The First Inter-Party Government* (Dublin, Institute of Public Administration, 1998).

151. Kevin Rafter, *The Clann: The Story of Clann na Poblachta* (Cork, Mercier Press, 1996); Eithne MacDermott *Clann na Poblachta* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1998).
152. J. J. Lee, *Ireland 1912–85: Politics and Society*; Paul Bew and Henry Patterson, *Lemass and the Making of Modern Ireland, 1945–66* (Dublin, & and Macmillan, 1982).
153. John Horgan, *Sean Lemass: the Enigmatic Patriot* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1999); Brian Girvin and Gary Murphy (eds) *The Lemass Era: Politics and Society in the Ireland of Seán Lemass* (Dublin, University College Dublin Press, 2005).
154. Henry Patterson, *Ireland since 1939: The Persistence of Conflict* (Dublin, Penguin, 2006); Eric Kaufman and Henry Patterson *Unionism and Orangeism in Northern Ireland Since 1945: The Decline of the Loyal Family* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007).
155. Eamon Phoenix, *Northern Nationalism: Nationalist Politics, Partition and the Catholic Minority in Northern Ireland, 1890–1940* (Belfast, Ulster Historical Foundation, 1994); Brendan Lynn *Holding the Ground: The Nationalist Party in Northern Ireland* (Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing Company, 1997).
156. Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets: Origins of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland* (Belfast, The Blackstaff Press, 1990).
157. Ian McAllister, *The Northern Ireland Social Democratic and Labour Party* (London, Macmillan Press, 1977).
158. Barry White, *John Hume: Statesman of the Troubles* (Belfast, Blackstaff Press, 1985); G. M. F. Drower, *John Hume: Peacemaker* (London, Gollancz, 1996); Paul Routledge, *John Hume: A Biography* (London, Harper-Collins, 1997); Gerard Murray, *John Hume and the SDLP* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1998).
159. Paddy Devlin, *Straight Left: An Autobiography* (Belfast, Blackstaff, 1993); Austin Currie *All Hell Will Break Loose* (Dublin, O'Brien Press, 2004); Chris Ryder, *Fighting Fitt: The Gerry Fitt Story* (Belfast, Brehon Press Ltd, 2006). Michael Murphy, *Gerry Fitt: A Political Chameleon* (Cork, The Mercier Press Ltd, 2007) is a less reverential treatment.
160. David Hume, *The Ulster Unionist Party 1972–1992* (Lurgan, Ulster Society, 1996).
161. Fergal Cochrane, *Unionist Politics and the Politics of Unionism since the Anglo-Irish Agreement* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1997).
162. Henry MacDonald, *Trimble* (London, Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 2000); Dean Godson, *Himself Alone: David Trimble and the Ordeal of Unionism* (London, HarperCollins, 2004).
163. Graham Walker, *A History of the Ulster Unionist Party: Protest, Pragmatism and Pessimism* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2004).
164. Edward Moloney and Andy Pollak, *Paisley* (Dublin, Poolbeg Press Ltd, 1986); Steve Bruce, *God Save Ulster: The Religion and Politics of Paisleyism* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987); Clifford Smyth, *Ian Paisley: Voice of Protestant Ulster* (Edinburgh, Scottish Academic, 1988); Dennis Cooke, *Persecuting Zeal: A Portrait of Ian Paisley* (Dingle, Brandon Books, 1997).
165. This is addressed sympathetically by Steve Bruce's *Paisley: Religion and Politics in Northern Ireland* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007).
166. J. Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army: The IRA* (3rd rev. edn, Transaction Publishers; 1997), *The Irish Troubles: A Generation of Violence, 1967–92* (Dublin, Gill &

- Macmillan Ltd, 1993), *The IRA 1968–2000: An Analysis of a Secret Army* (London, Routledge, 2000).
167. Ed Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA* (London, Allan Lane Publishers, 2002); Rogelio Alonso, *The IRA and Armed Struggle* (London, Routledge, 2006).
 168. Sarah Nelson, *Ulster's Uncertain Defenders: Protestant Political, Paramilitary, and Community Groups, and The Northern Ireland Conflict* (Belfast, Apple Tree Press, 1984); Steve Bruce *The Red Hand: Protestant Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland* (Oxford, Oxford Paperbacks, 1992), *The Edge of the Union: The Ulster Loyalist Political Vision* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994).
 169. Jim Cusack and Henry MacDonald, *UVF* (Dublin, Poolbeg, 1997); idem., *The UDA: Inside the Heart of Loyalist Terror* (Dublin, Penguin Ireland, 2004).
 170. Roy Foster, *Luck and the Irish: A Brief History of Change 1970–2000* (London, Allen Lane, 2007) is a useful discussion of these developments.
 171. Alvin Jackson, *Ireland 1798–1998: Politics and War* (London, Blackwell, 1999).
 172. Tom Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland, 1858–1928* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987); *Preventing the Future: Why Was Ireland so Poor for so Long?*
 173. Brian Girvin, *From Union to Union: Nationalism, Democracy and Religion in Ireland – Act of Union to EU* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 2002).

index

- Aalen, F.A.A. 161–163
Abbey Theatre, the 232, 243–244
Act on Union, the x, 9, 36, 38, 39,
50, 52, 102, 175–176
Akenson, Donald Harman 130–131,
133, 135, 136, 138–145
Allen, Kiernan 118–119
America: 171
 American Revolution, the 76–77
 Irish-America 87, 94–95, 132, 139,
 144, 146
 North America 129, 132, 141–142
ancien régime, the 71, 73–75, 83
Andrew, J.H. 151, 161–162
Anglo-Irish Agreement, the 33, 47
Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement, the 45
Anglo-Irish Treaty, the (1921) 43–45,
205–206, 220
Anglo-Irish, the 5, 42, 133, 233–235,
236, 240, 244, 256, 260
Anthony Coughlan 110, 123–124
Anti-Parnellite 17–18, 40
Anti-Partition campaign, the 30, 32
Anti-Partition Party, the 30
Archaeology 148, 150, 153
Armagh, Co. 152, 156, 163
Arnold, Matthew 257
Arnold, Mavis 181, 189
Art: 248–269
 Art History 248–249, 264–266
 Estate Portraits 255
 Fine Art 247–249, 252, 254, 255,
 259
 Free State Period 258, 260–261,
 265
 Free-State Iconography 269
 Illustration 248–252, 266
 Irish Genre Painting 251–252
 Irish Landscape, the 255–256, 260
 Irish Topographical Tradition,
 the 256
 National Art 254, 259, 267
 Nationalist Imagery 254, 257
 Political Iconography 248, 259
 Portraiture 257–258
 Revivalist Ireland 253, 258–259
 Visual Imagery 247–248, 251, 267
Asylums: 181–182, 184, 186–187,
189–190
 Catholic Asylums 178
 County Asylums 173
 Lunatic Asylums 169, 173,
 180–182
 Connaught District Lunatic
 Asylum 181
 Magdalen asylums 174–175,
 177–178, 181–182, 187–201, 219
 Female Orphan House, the 175
 House of Refuge, the 175
 Quaker Asylums 186
 Richmond Lunatic Asylum,
 the 173
Atrocity 59, 60, 81
Augusteijn, Joost 24, 44
Australia 129, 136, 138, 145–146,
171
 Irish-Australians 146

Bakers Union, the 115, 125
Balfour, Gerald 17, 21
Ballagh, Robert 261
Bane, Liam 156, 166
Banim, John 233, 244
Bardic Poetry 55, 229, 243
Barnard, Toby 233, 244
Barnes, Jane 178, 188
Barret, George 256
Barrett, Cyril 254, 257, 266
Barry, James 257, 258
Barry, Ursula 211
Bartlett, Thomas 75, 83, 197, 217,
229, 243
Battle of Kinsale, the 148
Bean na hÉireann 202, 219
Beaumont, Catriona 207
Beckett, J.C. 233, 244

- Begley, Rev. John 148, 161
 Belfast 172, 174, 186
 Belfast Charitable Society, the 172
 Bennett, Judith M. 194, 214, 216
 Bennett, Louie 204
 Bentham, Jeremy 171
 Beresford Ellis, Peter 116
 Bernadette Whelan 109, 125
 Bew, Paul 4, 18, 20, 22, 30, 40, 41, 42, 47, 108, 118
 Bhreathnach-Lynch, Síghle 260, 265, 266–267
 Biagini, Eugenio 19, 24, 44
 Bielenberg, Andy 136, 142–145
 Big House, the 156, 160, 166, 168
Black Prophet 90, 98
 Blair, Tony 91
 Blueshirts, the 21, 27, 45
 Boland, Harry 44
 Bolster, Evelyn 156, 166
 Bolton, G.C. 9, 38
 Border Counties Historical Collective, the 149
 Bourke, Angela 157, 167, 215, 221, 225, 242
 Bourke, Joanna 208
 Bourke, Marcus 15
 Bowman, Terence 22
 Boyle, Connell 157, 166
 Boyle, John W. 115, 116, 124
 Bracken, David 73, 83
 Bradley, Anthony 213, 216
 Bradshaw, Brendan vii, xi, 3, 35, 193, 216, 223, 229, 242
 Brady, Ciaran 216, 223, 242
 Breathnach, Ciara 208, 220
 Britain 101–103, 106, 108, 111, 114, 122, 127–129, 137, 140–141, 146, 171, 175–176, 187
 Brockliss, Laurence 12
 Brown, Michael 9
 Brown, Terence 227, 232, 238, 243, 245–246
 Browne, Noel 30, 46
 Brubaker, Rogers 130, 142
 Buckland, Patrick 21–22, 32, 42, 233, 244
 Bull, Philip 20, 42
 Burke, Edmund 255–256
 Burke, Helen 178–179, 186
 Burtchael, Jack 154, 162, 165
 Butler, Lady 258
 Butt, Isaac 14, 39, 40
 Caball, Marc 229, 243
 Callanan, Frank 18, 41
 Campbell, Francis 136
 Canada 138–139, 143–144, 146
 Canny, Nicholas 50, 53, 54–56, 58, 69, 78–79, 235, 237, 245
 Carden, Sheila 23
 Carey, P. 60, 81
 Caribbean, the 135, 145
 Carleton, William 90, 98
 Carlow, 152, 173
 Carlyle, Thomas 255
 Carpenter, Andrew 235, 237, 245
 Carr, John 255
 Carr, Peter 153, 164
 Carroll, Clare 72, 83
 Carson, Edward 22, 42
 Catholic Church, the 110, 174, 180, 209, 210, 222, 226, 228, 230, 235, 236, 237, 240, 246
 Anti-Catholic 63, 71
 Catholic Emancipation 9–11, 21, 148, 226, 229
 Catholic Hierarchy, the 8, 30, 66, 174
 Catholic Literature, a 230, 244
 Catholic Middle classes 174
 Catholicism 50, 56, 63, 66, 68–69, 132, 194, 227–232, 237
 Irish Catholic 52, 55–56, 63, 66, 68–69, 72, 74–75, 79, 82–83, 194, 197, 199, 197
 Irish Catholic Church, the 156, 167, 222
 Non-Catholic 175, 199
 Céitinn, Seathrún 52
 Celtic Tiger, the 100, 131
 Censorship 29, 46
 Central Bank, the 100, 107
 Centre for the Study of Historic Houses and Estates, the 156
 Chaliand, Gérard 132, 142, 144
 Chambers, Liam 9, 74, 83
 Childs, John 64, 81

- Civil Rights Movement, the 32, 47, 116
- Civil War, the 26–27, 33, 38, 42, 44–45, 114, 203, 206, 218
- Clann na Poblachta 30, 47
- Clare, Co. 152, 165, 172
- Clark, Aidan 237, 245
- Clarke, Anna 180, 189
- Clarke, Kathleen 44
- Clarke, Tom 24
- Clarkson, J.D. 113
- Clarkson, L.A. 107, 121–122, 125
- Clarkson, Leslie 151, 163
- Clear, Catriona 199, 208–209
- Cleary, Bridget 158, 167, 225, 242
- Cleary, Joe 222–223, 241–242
- Cleary, Michael 225
- Cohen, Marilyn 169, 184
- Cohen, Robin 130, 132–133, 142, 144
- Collège des Irlandaises 74–75
- Collins, Michael 24, 44, 47
- Colonial historians viii
- Colonisation 59, 75, 152, 226–227, 229, 243
- Colony 56, 57, 71, 80
- Colum, Padraic 23, 43
- Colvin, Ian 22, 42
- Comerford, R.V. 15, 16, 27, 40
- Commemorative; Famine
 Activities 90, 91
 Period 91, 94
 Practices 95
 Ritual 94
 Commemorative: 1798
 1798 Commemorations 196
- Communist Party Historians Group, the 115
- Confederate Association of Catholics, the 58, 79
- Confederated Catholics 58
- Confessional State, the 51, 65–66, 68
- Confessionalisation 65–66
- Confinement 169–172, 178, 180, 200–201
- Connell, Ken 103, 105, 106
- Connolly, Eileen 209, 220
- Connolly, James 24, 36, 37, 44, 112, 114–116, 123, 201, 203, 219
- Connolly, Linda 209–210, 220
- Connolly, S. J. 224, 242–243
- Connolly, Sean 228, 238, 243–244
- Constitutional Nationalists 7, 11, 16
- Coogan, Tim Pat 28, 44, 46, 131
- Cork 150, 152–154, 156, 159–160, 172–175, 181
- Corkery, Daniel 231–232, 234, 236, 244–245
- Corp, Edward 73, 83
- Cosgrave government, the 25, 27, 28
- Costello, John A. 127
- Counter-Reformation, the 50, 52, 65–66, 70–71
- Cowell, John 202, 219
- Cox, Catherine 169
- Crawford Art Gallery, Cork, the 252, 266
- Crofton, Sir Walter 171, 185
- Cromwell, Oliver 61, 63–64, 69, 81, 135
- Cronin, Elizabeth 156, 166
- Cronin, Maura 147, 224, 242
- Cronin, Michael 27, 45
- Cross, Dorothy 261, 264, 268
- Crossman, Virginia 180, 183, 186, 189, 190
- Crotty, Raymond 109
- Crowley, Tony 51–52, 78–79
- Cruise O'Brien, Conor 17, 41–42
- Cullen Owens, Rosemary 198, 202
- Cullen, Fintan 247, 249–251, 254, 257, 258, 260, 264, 265–268
- Cullen, L.M. (Louis) 7, 37, 38, 104, 122, 128–129, 141–142, 145, 228, 234, 243, 245
- Cullen, Luke 7, 36, 37
- Cullen, Mary 191, 204, 206, 215, 216–217, 219
- Cumann na mBan 198, 201, 202, 204–206, 218, 220
- Cumann na nGaedhael 26, 43, 45–46
- Cummings, Pauline 262
- Cunningham, Bernadette 50, 55, 56–58, 78, 80
- Currie, Austen 33, 47
- Curtin, Nancy vii, 8, 38, 195, 214, 217, 221
- Curtis, L.P. 233, 244
- Curtis, Perry 248, 265

- D'Alton, Ian 154, 164, 233, 244
 D'Arcy, Fergus 116
 Dáil Éireann 24, 27, 37, 43–44, 130, 143, 205–206, 219–220
 Daly, Mary E. 100–101, 109, 119–121, 123, 125, 183, 185, 187, 190, 193, 207, 216, 220
 Darcy, Patrick 53–54, 79
 Davis, Thomas 5, 12–13, 39, 253, 254–256, 266
 de Blacam, Aodh 231
 de Burgh, Ulick John 156
 de Latocnaye, Chevalier 255
 Deane, Seamus 234, 236, 242, 244–245
 Decolonisation 227, 259
 Delaney, Enda 127, 131, 141–142, 144
 Delany, William 156
 Denny, Lady Arabella 175, 219
 Department of Finance, the 100, 108
 Derry, Co. 151, 152, 158, 162–163, 166, 167
 Desmond Greaves, C. 115, 117, 124–125
 DeValera, Eamon 27–28, 30–31, 37, 39, 43, 45–46, 103, 204, 260
 Devereux, Eoin 153, 164
 Devlin, Paddy 33, 47
 Devotional Works 52, 55–56, 72, 79
 Devotional World 69, 82
 Dickson, David 6, 36, 38, 75, 83, 105, 122–123
 Dillon, James 30, 46, 13
 Dillon, John 17, 19
 Doherty, Willie 263
 Donegal, Co. 154, 156, 158, 162, 164–167
 Donnelly, James S. 89–90, 97–98, 153, 161, 163, 166, 250–251, 266
 Dooley, Terence 155–156, 160, 165, 166–168
 Dorian, Hugh 91
 Down, Co. 151, 153, 155, 157, 160, 163, 166
 Drogheda 63–64, 669, 81
 Dublin 102, 111–114, 151–154, 156, 159, 161–162, 171–174, 175, 178, 180, 183, 186–188
 Dublin Women's Suffrage Society, the 203
 Dudley Edwards, Owen 46
 Dudley Edwards, R. 3, 102–103, 121
 Dudley Edwards, R. vii, 3, 102–103, 121
 Dudley Edwards, Ruth 23, 40, 43
 Duffy, James 230
 Duffy, P.J. 255, 262, 266–267
 Duffy, Rita 262
 Dunne, Tom 8, 38, 224, 229, 233, 242–244
 Dunphy, Richard 118
 DUP (Democratic Unionist Party) 33
 Eagleton, Terry 94, 260, 268
 Early Modern Irish Women 195–197, 217
 Earner-Byrne, Lindsay 182, 187, 190
 Easter Rising vii,
 Eastwood, David 12
 Economic History: 100–128
 economic malaise 101
 economic performance 101, 108
 economic policy 109
 economic underdevelopment 101
Economic History Society, the 105
 Economic War, the 108, 122
 Edward T. McCarron 154, 164
 Edwards, David 59, 60, 67–69, 81
 Emergency, the 28, 46
 Emigration: 85, 87, 95–96, 98, 106, 123, 142, 144–145
 Emigration patterns 133
 Emigration Studies 142
 Exodus 128, 132, 141
 Famine emigration 129
 Irish emigration 128–129, 131, 134, 141
 Migration 128–145, 263, 268
 Ulster emigration 142
 England: 52, 54, 57–59, 61–64, 68, 72, 101, 103, 113, 115, 131, 132, 172, 177, 182, 184, 186, 187, 237
 English Catholics 67–68
 English Civil War 63, 79
 English colony, the 237, 238

- England (*continued*)
 Old English 50, 53, 55–56, 58, 66,
 67–69, 70–71, 78, 237–238, 245
 Old English Catholics 58, 226,
 236
 Engles, Fredrich 110
 English, Richard 117, 124
 Established Church, the 52, 67
 European Economic Community
 (EEC) 106, 108
 European Recovery Plan 109
 Eviction 86, 97
- Fallen women 175, 178, 200–201
 Fallon, Rosaleen 157, 166
 Fanning, Ronan 106, 107, 121
 Federation of Local History Societies,
 the 148, 161
 Feingold, William 183
 Female religious orders 174, 175,
 178, 181, 199–200
 Feminism: 198, 201–202, 209–210,
 213–214, 216, 218–219, 221,
 223, 262
 Cultural Feminism 210–211
 Feminist 193–195, 198, 202–204,
 207, 209, 211, 214–215, 210,
 247, 248
 Feminist Historians 194, 196
 Feminist History 210
 Irish Feminism 202, 209–210, 219
 Lesbian Feminism 210
 Lesbian Feminist 213
 Non-Feminist 194, 198, 207
 Second Wave Feminism 193,
 209–210
 Feminist History Forum, the 191
 Fenians, the: 15–16, 27, 40
 Fenian Rising, the 15
 Fenianism 15–16, 40
 Ferriter, Diarmuid 28, 35, 215, 239
 Fianna Fáil 7, 13, 25, 27–31, 34, 37,
 39, 45–46, 50, 108, 109, 118, 122
 Field Day Monographs, the 232, 239
 Fine Gael 25, 34, 45
 Finnane, Mark 176, 187
 Finnegan, Frances 181, 189
 Fisk, Robert 28, 46
 Fitt, Gerry 33, 47
 Fitzgerald, Alexis 104
 Fitzgerald, Garrett 34
 Fitzpatrick, David 92, 97–98, 152,
 154, 163–164, 180, 187, 189
 Fitzpatrick, Sir Jeremiah 171
 Flanagan, Edward Fr. 181
 Flight of the Earls, the 52, 78
 Flynn, Charles 159, 168
 Folklore 148
 Ford, Alan 65, 81
 Foster, R.F. (Roy) 23, 42, 48, 94, 98,
 222–224, 232–233, 235, 236,
 238, 239, 240–242, 245–246,
 249, 252, 265–266
 Foucault, Michel 182, 184
 Fox, R.M. 114, 124
 Foxtan, David 24
 Free trade 102, 106
Freeman's Journal, the 12
 French, Robert 156, 166
 Fry, Elizabeth 171
 Furlong, Nicholas 196, 217
- Gabaccia, Donna R. 139, 146
 Gaelic Athletic Association, the 158
 Gaelic Ireland 52, 67, 234
 Gaelic Irish 55, 66–67, 69, 226,
 235–236, 237–238
 Gaelic Language 233
 Gaelic League, the 43, 45, 235, 241,
 243
 Gaelic Literature 232
 Gaelicisation 227–228, 230, 232
 Gahan, Daniel 9, 38
 Gailey, Andrew 21, 42
 Galicia 69–70, 71, 82
 Gallagher, Michael 118
 Garvin, Tom 26, 29, 34, 45, 46, 48
 Gaughan, J. Anthony 117
 Gavan Duffy, Charles 11, 38, 39
 Geary, Lawrence 169, 177, 181, 184,
 186–188, 224, 242
 Gender History 194, 195, 214–216
 Gender analysis 194–195, 200,
 206, 215–216
 Gender difference 207, 209
 Gender inequalities 210
 Gender regime 209
 Gendered nature 206, 208

- Geoghegan, Patrick 9, 38
 Geographical studies 147, 149, 152
 Gerald of Wales 57
 Gibbons, Luke 226, 227, 243, 257, 267
 Gibson, Rev. C.B. 148, 161
 Gillespie, Raymond 152, 160, 162, 163–164, 167, 236, 244–245, 264
 Girvin, Brian 29, 34, 46–48, 108, 118
 Gladstone, William 16–17, 40, 42
 Glendinning, Victoria 213
 Good Friday Agreement, the 135
 Gore-Booth, Eva 205, 213
 Grace, Daniel 159, 165, 168
 Graham, Brian 222–225, 241, 242
 Graham, Colin 223, 241
 Grattan, Henry 7, 37
 Grattan's Parliament 6–7, 37
 Gray, Peter 15, 84, 87, 90, 97, 98, 249, 250, 266
 Great Famine, the vii, 12–15, 39–40, 84–85, 88, 93–95, 97–98, 128–129, 132–133, 143, 172, 175, 183, 186, 188–189, 251
An drochshaol 89
An gorta mór 89
 Irish Famine, the 84–99, 185, 186, 249–251, 266
phytophthora infestans 85
 Post-famine 176, 258
 Potato blight 85, 87, 89
 Potato Famine 185, 250, 266
 Relief programmes 90
 Grene, Nicholas 227, 235, 243, 245
 Griffith, Arthur 23, 43
 Griffith's Valuation 154
 Grogan, Nathaniel 252
 Guinnane, Timothy 179, 188–189
 Gulliver 155, 165
 Gwynn, Denis 19, 41
 Gwynn, Stephen 19, 41

 Haines, Robin 15, 40
 Hamilton, John 156, 166
 Hammond, J.L. 17, 40
 Hannigan, Ken 116
 Hart, Peter 2, 3, 13, 35–36, 44
 Haslam, Anna 202, 203
 Haslam, Thomas 202, 203
 Haughey, Charles 34
 Haverty, Anne 205
 Hayes, Joanne 210–211, 221
 Hazelkorn, Ellen 118
 Healy, T.M. 18, 20, 41
 Heaney, Seamus 92
 Henry, Gráinne 137, 145
 Henry, Paul 257, 259, 260
 Hepburn, A.C. 117
 Hill, Jacqueline 6, 37
 Historiography 2, 8–9, 11, 17, 22, 26, 28, 31, 38, 46, 103, 105, 121, 169–171, 175, 178, 181–183, 193, 214, 223, 234–237, 247, 251
History and Society series, the 149, 152
 Hobsbawn, Eric 115
 Hogan, James 25, 44
 Home Rule 11, 14, 16–20, 22, 39, 41–42
 Hopkinson, Michael 24, 44
 Horgan, John 46, 47
 Houston, C.J. 133, 144
 Howard, John 171
 Howlin, Brendan 134
 Hughes, Howard 152, 163
 Hume, David 33, 47
 Hume, John 33, 47
Hunger Memorial, the 96
 Hunt, Tom 153, 164

 Identity: 222
 Cultural Identity 225, 227
 Historical Identity 235
 Irish Identity 222, 226
 National Identity 222
 Nationalist Identity 238
 Self Identity 222, 229
 Unionist Identity 238
 Ignatieff, Michael 172, 184, 185
In a State 261, 262, 268
 Inghinidhe na hÉireann 203, 218
 Inglis, Tom 211–212, 220–221
 Institutions: 169, 170–190
 Educational institutions 170
 industrial schools 173–174, 181, 184, 188–189

- Institutions (*continued*)
 reformatory schools 173, 178
 Salthill Industrial School 178, 188
 Medical institutions 170, 173–177
 Charitable Infirmary, the 174, 187
 Citadella, the 173
 County infirmaries 173
 Dr Steeven's Hospital 174
 Fever hospitals 173, 176
 Grangegorman 180, 189
 Hardwicke, the 173, 186
 Lock hospitals 174, 182
 Mater Infirmorum Belfast, the 174
 Mater Misericordiae 174
 Medical dispensaries 173
 Mercer's 174
 Mercy Hospital Cork, the 174
 South and North Charitable Infirmaries, Cork 174
 St. Joseph's, Cavan 181
 St. Patrick's Hospital 173, 189
 St. Vincent's 174
 Westmoreland Lock Hospital, the 174
 Whitworth, the 173, 186
 Workhouse infirmaries 173
 Mendacity institutions 175
 Penal institutions 171
 Philanthropic institutions 174, 182, 187–188
 State institutions 170
 Institutional care 169–170, 176, 183
 Institutional History 169–190
 International Federation for Research in Women's History, the 191
 Inter-Party Government 29–30, 46
 Ireland's art 247, 249, 254, 260, 267
Irish Art Now: From the Poetic to the Political 262, 268
Irish Catholic, the 230
 Irish Citizen Army, the 113, 114, 124
Irish Citizen, the 202, 219
 Irish Constitution, the 209, 211, 220
 Irish Countrywomen's Association (ICA), the 208
 Irish County History series, the 225
 Irish demography 104
 Irish Diaspora, the 127–146
Irish Economic and Social History Society, the 105
 Irish economy, the 102, 104–105, 107–109, 122
 Irish episcopacy, the 66
 Irish famine historiography 85, 88, 96
 Irish Free State, the 37, 42–43, 45, 117, 124, 201, 206–207, 221, 223, 225, 227, 232, 234, 244, 246, 257, 258, 259–260, 261, 265
Irish Historic Towns Atlas project, the 151
Irish Historical Society, the 106
Irish Historical Studies 3, 102, 105, 107, 121–122, 125, 191–192, 215–216, 223
Irish Homestead, the 236
 Irish Housewives Association (IHA), the 208
 Irish in Europe project, the 137
 Irish Labour History Society, the (ILHS) 115–116, 124, 125
 Irish language, the 50–53, 77, 83, 225, 228, 230, 241, 246
 Irish Literary Revival, the 227, 233, 235, 240, 244, 254, 257, 259, 260
 Irish National Famine Memorial, the 91, 95
 Irish Nationality and Citizenship Acts, the 135
 Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP), the 17, 19, 20, 40–41
 Irish Peasantry, the 251, 252, 257
Irish Press, the 13, 39
 Irish Queer Archive, the 210
 Irish Republic, the 30, 40, 43, 46
 Irish Republican Army (IRA), the 2, 3, 14, 24, 27, 30, 33, 35, 44, 47, 48
 Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), the, 15–16, 18, 24, 40, 43
 Irish Studies 223, 238, 239, 242, 247, 248, 251, 260, 265, 267

- Irish Theatre, the 227, 232, 243–244
 Irish Trade Union Congress, the 115
 Irish Transport and General Workers Union, the (ITGWU) 112, 114, 117, 124, 125
 Irish Volunteers, the 37, 43–45, 113
 Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association (IWSLGA), the 203
 Irish Workers' League, the 115
 Irishness 127, 133–135, 141, 143, 222–223, 225–227, 231, 234, 236, 239, 241–242, 246
 Irishwomen's Franchise League (IWFL) 201, 203, 219
 Irishwomen's Workers Union (IWWU) 201, 204, 219
- Jackson, Alvin 4, 22, 34, 42, 48
 Jackson, Brian 68, 82
 Jacobin 75–77, 83
 Jacobite 1, 50, 65, 73, 75–77, 83, 229, 243
 Jacobitism 6, 73, 75–76
Jail Journal 88
 James II 73, 79
 Jellett, Mainie 259
 John Mannion 154, 164
 Johnson, Thomas 117, 124
 Johnson, William 136, 142
 Jones, Greta 170, 184, 187, 190, 221
 Jones, Mary 198
 Jordan, Donal 152, 163
Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, the 148, 160
Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society, the 148, 160
- Keating, Geoffrey 55–57, 58, 78, 80
 Keating, Seán 257, 260
 Kelleher, Margaret 84, 169, 184, 189, 224, 242
 Kelly, James 9
 Kenneally, Thomas 13, 39
 Kennedy, John F. 130
 Kennedy, Liam 107, 121–122, 128, 141
- Kenny, Kevin 131, 139, 143, 146
 Keogh, Daire 38, 75, 83, 196, 217
 Keogh, Dermot 117, 222, 241
 Kerr, Donal 11
 Kerry Babies case, the 210, 212
 Kiberd, Declan 222, 224, 228, 232, 236, 239, 241, 242, 245, 246
 Kilcommins, Shane 182, 190
Kildare Archaeological Journal, the 148
 Kilkenney, Co. 58, 79–80, 147, 155, 160, 162
 Kilmainham gaol 171
 Kilrush Union 86
 Kinealy, Christine 15, 40
 King, Bob 152, 163
 King, Carla 107, 122
 Kinmonth, Claudia 253, 264, 266
 Kinsella, Thomas 229, 243
 Kissane, Bill 26, 45
 Knirck, Jason 206, 207, 220
 Kotsounouris, Mary Ellen 24
 Krielkamp, Vera 247
- Labour History 110–128
 Irish working class history 112, 116, 125, 126
 Labour Party, the 34, 44, 47, 114, 117–118, 124, 125
 Ladies, Land League, the 198, 203, 218
 Laffan, Michael 24, 44
 Lamb, Charles 257, 259
 Land annuities 108
 Land Question, the 1, 16, 20, 42
 Land War, the 21, 39, 42
 Landed estates 153, 159, 167
 Lane, Hugh 260, 265
 Lane, Leeann vi, 222
 Larkin, Emmet, 115, 124
 Larkin, James (Jim) 111, 114–115, 117, 120, 123–124, 126
 Larkinism 113
 Larkinites 114
 Laskey, Healthier 181, 189
 Lawlor, Chris 153, 164
 Lawlor, David 18
 Leaving Certificate, the 110, 122

- Lee, J. J. 10, 29, 37, 46–47, 100,
104–105, 109, 120–121,
123–124, 132, 139–141, 144,
146
- Leerssen, Joep 224, 228, 235, 243,
245, 257, 267
- Legg, Mary-Louise 13, 39
- Lemass, Sean 28, 29–31, 46–47, 106,
108, 118, 172
- Lenihan, Maurice 148, 161
- Lenihan, Pádraig 59, 81
- Leslie Estate, the 156
- Liberals 1, 19
- Limerick, Co. 154, 159–161,
164–165, 168
- Lloyd, David 96, 99, 224
- Local Government Board, the 183
- Local History 147–168
- Local Studies 105, 110, 120, 126
- Loftus, Brenda 248, 265
- Lombard, Peter 56, 80
- London School of Economics (LSE),
the 103
- Longford, Co. 152–153, 163–164
- Longford, Lord 27, 46
- Lotz-Heumann, Ute 65, 82
- Louis XIV 73, 76, 79
- Louvain 50, 52, 55, 79, 80
- Loyalists 7, 8, 15, 33, 48
- Luddy, Maria 125, 169, 177, 178,
181–182, 184, 186, 187–190,
199–201, 204, 209, 211,
219–220, 242
- Lydon, James 4, 36
- Lynch, John 56–58, 80
- Lynch, Patrick 104, 123
- Lyne, Gerard J. 153, 163
- Lynn, Kathleen 204–205
- Lyons, F.S.L. 17–19, 29, 41, 105,
121, 231, 233–234, 239, 240,
244, 245
- Lyons, Mary Ann 73, 83
- Mac an Bhaird, Fearghal Óg 54
- Mac Cana, Proinsias 74
- Mac Cuarta, Brian 61, 81
- Mac Éinrí, Piaras 134, 144
- Mac Fhirbhisigh, Dubhaltach 51,
78
- Mac Grianna, Seosamh 93
- Mac Muireadhaigh, Diarmaid 52
- MacCarthy, Cal 202
- MacCurtain, Margaret 191, 193, 194,
195, 207, 215–217, 220
- MacDonagh, Oliver 10, 12, 170,
175–176, 184–187, 228, 233,
243, 244, 246
- MacGeough Bonds 156, 166
- MacKnight, Thomas 5, 9, 38
- Maclise, Daniel 258
- MacNeill, Eoin 23, 44
- MacRaild, Donald 137, 146
- Magdalen
- Maher, Alice 262
- Malcolm, Elizabeth 170, 177, 180,
184, 187–190, 221
- Manning, Maurice 27, 45, 46
- Maps: 151, 161, 163, 167
Cartography 163
Map-making 151, 167
Mapping 151
- Margaret Urwin 157, 166
- Marjoribanks, Edward 22, 42
- Markievicz, Countess
Constance 204–205, 207,
218–219
- Marland, Hilary 177, 188
- Marreco, Anne 205
- Marriage Bar, the 208
- Martin, Augustine 232, 244
- Martin, F.X. 23, 44
- Martin, Peter, 238, 246
- Marx, Karl 110
- Marxist:
Historians 115, 123
History 112, 116
Perspective 108, 118
Political scientists 108
Reading 119
- Massacre 60–62, 63–64, 68, 81
- Mathews, P. J. 227, 243
- Maturin, Charles 256
- Maume, Patrick 1
- Maye, Brian 23, 43
- Mayo, Co. 152, 162–163, 165
- McAllister, Ian 32, 47
- McAuliffe, Mary vi, 191
- McBride, Ian 9

- McCafferty, John 65, 81
 McCaffrey, Lawrence J. 138–139, 143, 146
 McCance, John 136
 McCarthy, Charles 117
 McCarthy, John P. 185
 McCooile, Sinead 202, 204, 219
 McCormack W.J. 230, 241, 244, 246
 McCormick, Finbar 150, 161
 McDowell, R.B. 21, 37, 170, 184, 187
 McEvilly, John 156, 166
 McEvoy, William 258
 McGee, Owen 16, 40
 McGonagle, Declan 262–263, 268
 McGonigal, Maurice 259, 260
 McGowan, Joe 205
 McGrath, Thomas G. 156, 159
 McLoughlin, Dympna 179, 189, 200, 219
 Median Identity 50
 Median role 56, 58
 Medical Charities Act, the (1851) 173
 Meenan, James 104, 107
 Meleady, Dermot 18, 41
 Michell, Arthur 24, 44, 116–118
 Miller, Kerby A. 128, 141–142
 Milotte, Mike 117
 Mitchel, John 13–14, 39, 88–89, 90, 95
 Moky, Joel 107
 Moloney, Ed 33, 47, 48
 Molony, John 13
 Moody, T.W. vii, 3, 102, 103, 121, 192, 216, 224, 246
 Moore, George Henry 240, 246
 Moran, D.P. 37, 46, 102, 231, 232, 240, 241, 244
 Moran, Gerard 152, 163, 166
 Morash, Chris 232, 235, 244
 Morgan, Austen 22
 Morgan, Hiram 60, 79, 81
 Morley, Vincent 77, 79, 83
 Morrill, John 63–64, 71
 Moynihan, Maurice 107
 Mulally, Teresa 174
 Muldowney, Mary 215
 Mulvany, George 252
 Mulvey, Helen 13
 Murphy, Cliona 202, 218
 Murphy, Gary 109
 Murphy, Rose 213, 221
 Murphy, Tom 92
 Murphy, William 127, 203
 Nagle, Nano 175
Nation, the 12, 39, 224, 231, 254, 256, 266
 National Gallery, the 254, 264, 266
 National Guard 45
 National Union of Dockers, the 112
 Nationalism: xi, 2, 6, 11, 16, 19–20, 35–37, 41–42, 53, 110, 113, 117, 122–123, 144, 152, 180, 189, 198, 201–203, 205–206, 214, 218–219, 223, 228–229, 233, 242, 246, 254, 256–257, 261–263, 266–267
 Colonial Nationalists 226
 Cultural nationalism 236, 240, 259
 Irish Nationalism 2, 7, 19, 36–37, 41–42, 133, 231, 254, 262, 266
 Nationalist vii, 1–48, 85, 88–89, 100–102, 106, 111–112, 114, 132–133, 152, 163, 204–205, 213, 219, 226, 231, 235, 240, 254, 256, 258, 260, 264
 Nationalist Cause, the 193
 Nationalist historiography 31, 85, 88, 90, 234, 236, 247, 251
 Nationalist History vii, 192, 238, 251
 Nationalist Imagery 254, 257
 Nationalist Struggle, the 198
 Postnationalist 247
 Protonationalist 57, 75
New History of Ireland, the 106, 121
 New History project 106
 New York Great Irish Famine Curriculum Project 95
 New Zealand 138
 Newgate prison 171, 185
 Newsinger, John 16, 40
 Ní Dhomhnaill, Nuala 93, 98
 Ní Dhroma, Máire 92

- Ní Úrdail, Meidhbhín 73, 79, 83
 Nicol, Erskine 252, 258
 Nicholls, Kenneth 61, 81
 Nicholson, Asenath 91, 96
 Norman, Diana 205
 Northern Ireland 28, 30–32, 34–35,
 42, 47–48, 149
 NUI, Maynooth 137, 156, 158
- Ó Bruadair, Dáibhidh 52
 Ó Buachalla, Breandan 6, 36, 54, 76,
 77, 79, 83
 Ó Callanáin, Peatsaí 92
 Ó Ciardha, Eamonn 6, 36, 228–229
 Ó Cíosáin, Éamon 72, 83
 Ó Ciosáin, Niall 95, 98, 224, 225,
 230, 242, 244
 Ó Cléirigh, Mícheál 52
 Ó Corrain, Donncha 195, 217
 O Cróinín, Dáibhí 156, 166
 Ó Dúshláine, Tadhg 56, 72, 83
 Ó Faolain, Sean 12, 204, 219
 Ó Fiach, Tomás 55
 Ó Gráda, Cormac 14, 40, 85, 90, 92,
 97–98, 107, 120–123, 179, 185,
 188, 189, 222, 241
 Ó hAnnracháin, Tadhg 56, 66, 72,
 82–83
 Ó hEoghusa, Bonaventura 52
 Ó hEoghusa, Eochaidh 54
 Ó Laoghaire, an tAthair Peadar 88
 O Muraile, Nollaig 51, 78
 Ó Siochrú, Mícheal 58, 64, 81
 Ó Tuama, Seán 229, 243
 Ó Tuathaigh, Gearoid 105, 195, 217
 O'Brien, George 102, 105, 121
 O'Brien, Gerard 172, 179, 186, 188
 O'Brien, William 20, 42,
 O'Callaghan, Margaret 17
 O'Connell, Daniel 8, 10–12, 13,
 38–39, 112, 148, 159, 167, 226,
 229, 230, 236, 246, 248, 254,
 265
 O'Connell, Maurice 10, 12
 O Connell, Patricia 71, 82
 O'Connor, Emmet 117, 120
 O'Connor, Frank 44
 O'Connor, James 252
 O'Connor Lysaght, D.R. 116
- O'Connor, Pat 211, 220
 O'Connor, Priscilla 74, 83
 O'Connor, Thomas 69, 72, 82–83,
 137, 145, 146
 O'Day, Alan 18, 35, 41, 133, 141,
 144
 O'Donnell, Hugh 80
 O'Donnell, Katherine vi
 O'Donnell, Peadar 118, 124
 O'Donnell, Ruan 9
 O'Dowd, Mary 150, 152, 162–163,
 191, 195, 196, 197, 215, 216,
 217–218, 220, 221
 O'Duffy, Eoin 27, 45
 O'Ferrall, Fergus 10, 38
 O'Flaherty, Liam 88
 O'Flanagan, Patrick 153, 162, 164,
 165, 168
 O'Grady, Standish 232
 O'Hanlon-Walshes, the 157
 O'Kelly, Aloysius
 O'Leary, John 15
 O'Leary, Philip 232, 244
 O'Mahony, Christopher 154, 164
 O'Maolchonaire, Flaithrí 52, 55
 O'Neill T.P. 27, 46
 O'Neill, Hugh 60, 80
 O'Neill, Kevin 157, 166, 254, 255,
 258, 266
 O'Neill, Terence 32, 33
 O'Neill, Timothy P. 163, 164, 165
 O'Riordan, Michelle 49, 229
 O'Scea, Ciaran 69–71, 82
 O'Sullivan, Niamh 258, 265, 267
 O'Toole, Fintan 136, 145, 261, 268
 O'Toole, Tina 210
 O'Ferrall, Richard 56, 80
 Offaly 154, 163–164, 167
 Ohlmeyer, Jane 56–57, 80
*OO44: Contemporary Irish Art in
 Britain* 263
 Orange: 22
 Orangeism 8, 21, 47
 Oral history 159, 166
 Ormond, Duke of 64, 79, 81
 Orphanages 167, 174, 175, 177, 189
Ossory Archaeological Journal, the 147,
 160
 O'Sullivan Beare, Philip 56, 80

- Other, the 234, 238, 239
 Owen, Gary 169, 184
 Owenson, Sydney 256
- Paisley, Ian 33, 47
 Parliamentary 54, 58, 63–64, 81
 Parnell, Charles Stewart 9, 16–20,
 22, 31, 39–41, 43
 Parnellite 16–18, 19, 40, 41
 Particularism 2, 38
 Paseta, Senia 238, 240, 246
 Pastorini prophecies 229, 243
 Patriot politics 6
 Patriot tradition 5, 6, 37
 Patterson, Henry 108, 118, 124
 Paupers: 173, 179
 Female Paupers 179–180, 189
 Female pauperism 180
 Peackham Magray, Mary 199
 Pearse, Patrick 13, 23, 36, 43, 116
 Peel, Sir Robert 85
 Penal Laws, the 1, 6, 52
 Penitents 178, 181
 Peoples' College, the 115
 Peoples Democracy 116
 Petrie, George 256–258, 267, 268
 Philanthropy: 170, 176–177, 187,
 188, 198–200, 219
 Charitable institutions 176, 177,
 199
 Female philanthropists 176, 180,
 199
 Philanthropic 170–173, 174–176,
 178, 183, 214
 Phoenix, Eamon 32, 47
 Physico-Historical Society, the 147,
 160
 Plantations, the 53, 64, 69, 71, 228,
 236–238
 Plunkett, Horace Sir 21, 42
 Póirtéir, Cathal 97
 Political History 1
 Political scientist 108, 119
 Poor Clares, the 181, 189
 Poor law, the 172–173, 179, 180,
 181–186, 189
 Anti-poor law 172
 English Poor Law, the 172
 Poor Law Commissioners, the 86
 Poor Law Guardians 173, 182
 Poor Law relief 180
 Poor Law Union, the 153, 157,
 165, 167
 Poor Law Unions 173, 183, 188
 Pope Innocent XII 73
 Popular Culture 223–225
 Porter, Roy 18, 178, 187
 Power, Patrick 151, 163
 Prendergast, Kathy 262
 Presbyterian 157
 Prisons 167, 170–172, 182–185
 Prostitution: 169, 178, 182, 186,
 187, 189–190, 198, 200, 203,
 211, 215, 218
 Prostitutes 175, 180, 201
 Protestant 5–7, 10–12, 20–21, 32, 36,
 38, 45, 48, 51, 61–62, 64, 69,
 74–75, 77, 79, 133, 174–178,
 197, 202
 Irish Protestants 7, 26, 68, 226,
 233, 244
 Protestant ascendancy 2, 5, 6
 Protestant-Catholic Relations 38
 Protestant-Unionist 2
 Providentialism 89
 Prunty, Jacinta 151, 163, 167
 Public Health 175, 178, 183, 186
 Puirseil, Niamh 100
 Purdue, Olwen 156, 166
 Pyle, Hilary 202
- Queens University Belfast
 (QUB) 103, 107
 Quinlan, Carmel 202
 Quinn, D.B. vii
- Radio Teilifís Éireann (RTE) 111, 152
 Rageau, Jean-Pierre 132, 142, 144
 Ralahine commune, the 112
 Raughter, Rosemary 176–177, 187
Re/Dressing Cathleen 262, 264, 268
 Redmond, John 17–19, 41
 Redmondite 19, 26
 Reform: 171–173, 178, 187–188, 201,
 203
 Reformatories 169, 178, 184
 Reformers 185, 217
 Reformist 169, 177

- Regan, John 26, 27, 45
- Religious women: 198–200, 214
 convents 198–200
 non-conformist women 199
 Nuns 198–200, 207, 212, 221
 religious communities 199
- Renan, Ernest 257
- Repeal of the Act of Union campaign,
 the 226, 229
- Republican 14, 16–17, 19, 23,
 26–27, 30, 36, 43–44, 45
- Republican Congress, the 118, 124
- Revisionism: 2, 3, 35, 44, 85, 89, 90,
 92, 103, 121, 223–224, 242
 Anti-revisionist viii
 Post-revisionist 120, 223, 228
 Revisionist vii, 2–4, 35, 100, 103,
 107, 112, 120, 223–224
- Reynolds, Joseph 180, 189
 Risings: *1641* 1, 52, 57–58, 61,
 78, 80, 236, 237, 245, *1798* 4,
 7–9, 38, 42, 48, 52, 76–77, 83,
 148, 151, 155, 165, *1803* 1,
 1848 13, 37, *1916* 16, 113
- Robinson, Mary 91, 127, 130, 134,
 141, 143
- Roebuck, Peter 105
- Rolstan, Bill 248
- Romantic tradition 256
- Roper, Esther 205
- Roscommon 150, 153, 157, 166
- Royal Hibernian Academy, the 253,
 266
- Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) 176,
 205
- Royalists 63, 64, 81
- Rump, E. 117
- Russell, George (AE) 227, 233, 236,
 245
- Russell, Lord John 86
- Ryan, Louise 202, 203, 219
- Ryan, Meda 2, 35
- Ryan, W.P. 113
- Ryder, Chris 33, 47
- Ryder, Sean 224, 236, 242, 245, 246
- San-Germain-en-Laye court, the 73,
 83
- Saothar* 116
- Savage, Rob 260, 267
- Scotland 54, 57, 58, 62–63
- SDLP 32, 47
- Seanad, the 130
- Seawright, Paul 263, 268
- Sectarianism 57, 59, 65, 68, 81, 82
- Sen, Amartya 180
- Sexuality: 198, 211–214, 216, 221
 Female Sexuality 200, 201
 Heterosexuality 212
 Homosexuality 210
 Lesbian sexuality 212
- Sheehan, Thomas 156, 166
- Sheehy, Jeanne 259, 267, 268
- Sheehy-Skeffington, Hanna 204,
 206, 209, 218
- Sheffer, Gabriel 130, 142
- Shields, Andrew 21, 42
- Silverman 155, 165
- Simms, Annagret 152, 162–163, 167
- Sinn Féin 11, 19, 20, 23–24, 26,
 33, 35, 40, 43–45, 102, 106,
 205–206, 218, 227, 243
- Sisters of Charity, the 174
- Sisters of Mercy, the 174, 178, 188
- Sisters of the Good Shepherd,
 the 181
- Sligo, Co. 150, 152, 162
- Smerwick 60
- Smith, James M. 178, 185, 188, 201,
 219, 221
- Smyth, W. J. 133, 144
 Society for the History of Women,
 (SHOW) the 191
- Somerville, Alexander 91
- Spain 70–71, 72, 78, 79–80
 Spanish Civil War 27, 45
 Spanish Flanders 137, 145
- Spenser, Edmund 60, 235, 245
- Stanihurst, Richard 80
- Stapleton, Theobald 52
- Statutes of Kilkenny 52
- Steele, Karen 202
- Stewart, A.T.Q. 9, 22, 42
- Stormont 28, 31, 32, 33
- Stout, Geraldine 165
- Stout, Mathew 154, 162, 163, 165
- Stuarts, the 50, 54, 55, 67, 73,
 228–229

- Suffrage: 193, 198, 201, 203
 Irish Suffrage 198, 202–203
 Irish Suffrage movement, the 198, 202
 Irish Suffragettes 203
 Suffrage movement, the 198, 202–203, 214, 218
 Suffragettes, the 201, 219
 Swift, Jonathan 102
 Synge, John Millington 231–232, 235, 239, 244–245, 257, 259
 Synnott, Thomas 156, 166
- Tait, Clodagh 59, 60, 81
 Temple, John 237, 245
 Thackeray, William 255
 The 1913 lockout 111
 Thomas Davis Lectures, the 152
 Thompson, Valerie 154, 164
 Thornton, Brigid 202
 Tierney, Michael 23, 44
 Tipperary, Co. 150, 152, 158, 159, 162, 165, 168
 Tölölyan, Kachig 130, 142
 Townland, the 150, 153, 164
 Trade Union: 117–119
 Activism 115
 Consciousness 112
 Leader 111, 119, 123
 Membership 110
 Movement 113, 116, 118
 Transportation 171
 Trauma 94, 97, 99
 Trevelyan, Charles 14, 40
 Tridentine 66–67
 Trimble, David 33, 47
 Trinity College Dublin (TCD) 104, 115–116
 Tunney, John 154, 164
 Tweedy, Hilda 210
 Tyrconnell, Earl of 55, 78
 Tyrone, Earl of 55, 78, 80
- Ulster 9, 10, 21–23, 33, 47, 61–62, 67, 78, 100
 Ulster Crisis 22, 41, 42
 Ulster Defence Association (UDA) 34, 48, 50
 Ulster Historical Foundation, the 148
Ulster Journal of Archaeology, the 147
 Ulster Question 1
 Ulster-Scots 1
 Ulster Scots Historical Foundation, the 148
 Ulster Unionism 22–23, 33, 42
 Ulster Unionist Party 33, 47
 Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) 34, 48, 50
 Union, the 33–34, 36, 38, 48
 United Irish League 20
 United Irishmen vii, 7–9, 38, 74, 76
 University College Cork (UCC) 149, 160, 161
 University College Dublin (UCD) 104, 107, 115–116
- Vaizy, John 104
 Valiulis, Maryann 206, 207, 213, 217, 220–221
 Van Voris, Jacqueline 205
 Vincent, Joan 169, 184
 Volition 56, 69
- Walker, Brian 21, 42
 Walker, Dorothy 260, 268
 Walker, Graham 33, 47
 Walsh, Dick 28, 46
 Walsh, Louise 262
 Walsh, Oonagh 181, 189
 Walshe, Eibhear 213, 221
 War of Independence, the 2, 3, 24, 35, 44, 114, 203, 205, 218
 Ward, Margaret 198, 202–203, 218–220
 Ware, Sir James 51, 78
 Waterford, Co. 154, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 172
 Waters, John 94
 Watts, George Frederick 250–251
 Welch, Robert 232, 244
 West Indies, the 135
 Wexford, Co. 63, 147, 151, 154–155, 157, 160–161, 163, 165–167, 172
 Whelan, Irene 10, 38
 Whelan, Kevin 8–9, 16, 38, 75, 83, 161–163, 216
 Whigs 1, 2, 10–11, 13
 Whitaker, T.K. 100

- Wichert, Sabine 196, 217, 220–221
 Wicklow, Co. 151, 155, 163, 165
 Wild Geese, the 72
 Wilkinson, David 9, 38
 William II 79
 Williamite Wars 52, 79
 Williams, T. Desmond 103, 121
 Wilson Foster, John 233, 244
 Windrum, Caroline 157, 166
 Women: 175, 177–180, 225, 242
 Immoral Women 180, 212
 Irishwomen 187, 211, 219
 Respectable Women 180,
 211–212
 Women's Experiences 170, 178
 Women's History 169, 184,
 191–196, 210, 214–218, 220
 Women's Involvement 170, 177,
 193, 201–203
 Women's Role 178, 196, 201
 Women's Studies 192, 210, 220
 Women's History Association of
 Ireland (WHAI), the 192
 Women's History Project, the 192
 Women's Studies 110
 Woodham-Smith, Cecil 14, 92
 Workers Union of Ireland 114
 Workhouses 167, 170, 172–173, 175,
 179–180, 182, 184, 186, 188–189
 New Ross Workhouse 180, 189
 South Dublin Union
 Workhouse 180
 Wyndham, George 21
 Wyse Power, Jennie 205, 218

 Yeats, Jack 259
 Yeats, W.B. 231–232, 234, 236, 239,
 244–245, 257, 259, 260, 268
 Yellow Meal 92
 Young, Arthur 255
 Young, Ella 213, 221
 Young, John R. 62, 81